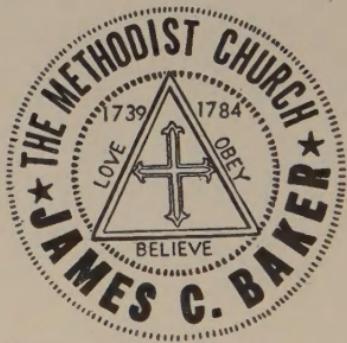


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VOL. I.

Thronging through the cloud-rift, whose are they, the faces
Faint revealed, yet sure divined, the famous ones of old ?
“ What ”—they smile . . .
“ Was it for mere fool’s-play, make-believe and mumming,
So we battled it like men, not boylike sulked or whined ?
Each of us heard clang God’s ‘ Come ! ’ and each was coming :
Soldiers all, to forward-face, not sneaks to lag behind ! ”

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THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

BY

FRANCIS HERBERT STEAD, M.A.

Warden of Browning Hall, 1894—1921

AUTHOR OF

"THE UNSEEN LEADERSHIP," "THE PROLETARIAN
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IN TWO VOLUMES

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OF THE NEW WORLD, A.D. 1492

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TO MY SAINTED MOTHER
WHO FIRST TAUGHT ME
THE MEANING OF JESUS
AND THE MEANING OF HISTORY

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	ix
Social Christianity, a new Phrase, an old Fact. Protest against Religious Individualism, and a Corrective. The Gospel a Social Message ; its Social Record in Spheres Economic, Political and Ecclesiastical. Social Results of Religious Individualism : How Explained. The Real Initiative.	
PERIOD I.—THE INAUGURATOR	17
His Message Social. A unique Force of Social Cohesion. His Ministry not “Purely Spiritual.” His Teaching on Woman, Marriage, Child, Nature, Work and Trade, Poverty, Housing, the State, Internationalism, War, Art, the Church. The Social Consummation. The Social Sacrament.	
PERIOD II.—THE TIMES OF THE APOSTLES : THE SOCIAL ORGANISM OF THE CHRIST	27
Jesus as Social Creator. “The Brothers.” The Common Purse. Standard of Distribution. The first Fissure, the Lure of the “Purely Spiritual.” STEPHEN the Pioneer. Decisive Appearances of the Risen One to Stephen, Saul, Ananias. The first Gentile Church. PAUL’s Social Work and Teaching. The new Social Organism. The Apostles’ Teaching on the Body, Woman, Marriage, Slavery and Freedom, Rules for Industry, Poverty, Politics, Military Service : Appreciation of Sport. “The New Jerusalem” and Art : Church and Kingdom. The Central Idea in Three Stages.	

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PERIOD III.—THE PENETRATION AND CAPTURE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, A.D. 90—325 . . .	43

Christianity changing. Its Triple Entrenchment. NICENE CREED, Social Import, Pagan Influences. Episcopate and Empire : Deification of the Bishop. Was Secularizing necessary ? The Church a marvellous Creation. The Appearance to CONSTANTINE. Social Christianity in the Church Fathers : Clement of Rome, Papias, "Didache," Polycarp, Ignatius, Epistle to Diognetus, Barnabas, Shepherd of Hermas, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Hegesippus, Irenaeus, Dionysius, Second Clementine, Theophilus, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Cornelius, Eusebius, Lactantius. Apostolical Constitutions. Laws of Constantine.

PERIOD IV.—MONK AND BARBARIAN, FROM CONSTANTINE TO THE CLOSE OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE, A.D. 325—476 . . .	88
--	----

An Imperial Opportunity. An Empire emasculated—by Christianity. A new Social Instrument for the new Need. St. Antony's Call. Monasticism Founded. Pachomius. Monks East and West. A "Hunger for Love." Whence the Initiative ? Martyr and Monk. Service rendered by Monks : Protestant Counterparts: Deeds of Healing. Origin of HOSPITALS. Ephraem, Famine-worker. Romance of Fabiola. Pammachus. The new Dynamic. Sanctity of Sex : Augustine and his Cast-off Mistress. Women as Mothers, as Friends of Men. Slaves and Captives. St. Ambrose. St. TELE-MACHUS and Gladiatorial Sports. St. CHRYSOSTOM the Social Prophet, his Work in Antioch. NATION-BUILDING : ULFILAS and the Moesian Goths, his Pacific State, his Founding of Teutonic Literature. St. MARTIN, " Founder of Catholic France." St. PATRICK, Father of the " Isle of Saints." Christian Emperors Disciplined. Christians as Persecutors. Byzantinism. Social Teaching : St. AUGUSTINE's Tale of Two Cities.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PERIOD V.—WESTERN UNITY EMERGING FROM THE BARBARIC FLOOD, A.D. 476–814	134
Age of Savagery, Sufferings of Vanquished. Barbarians Morally Superior. Bishops Interceding. GREGORY the Great. Cassiodorus. St. BENEDICT . Church as Landlord, the Snare of Great Possessions. Irish Nation-builders: St. Columban in Italy, St. Gall in Switzerland, St. COLUMBA of Iona and St. Mungo of Glasgow. Conversion of Clovis. The Making of England: “The Apostle of the English.” CÆDMON , the Birth of English Literature, at Whose Word? The English Missionary of Germany. The Idea of World-Unity: Justinian. The Pope as King-maker. CHARLEMAGNE , Pope-made Emperor. Three Rival Unities. “A Second David.” Menace of ISLAM .	
PERIOD VI.—TRIUMPH OF FEUDALISM AND PAPACY, A.D. 814–1085	160
The Byzantine Empire. Feudalism a System of Graded Force, superseding other Government. Influence of and on Christianity. Monastic Contrast: Chief Home of Social Christianity. Church in France. Empire reforming Papacy. ALFRED the Great, an Eminent Social Christian. Sweden, Christian without Force; Norway, by Coercion. Russia peacefully persuaded. Social Transformation of Hungary: St. STEPHEN . The Idea of Christendom as a Single Community. The Church rescued by the Empire. HILDEBRAND : Canossa. “The Peace of God”: “The Truce of God.” Manegold’s Social Contract. The Drama revived.	
PERIOD VII.—THE CRUSADES AND THE AUTO- CRAT OF CHRISTENDOM, A.D. 1085–1216	180
Reaction against the Turk. First Crusades, Failure on Failure. Templars and Hospitallers. Chivalry. Who initiated the Crusades? The Chivalry of Jesus. Cistercians—in Agriculture. St. BERNARD , “Super-Pope.” Growth of Towns: Schools of Freedom. Gilds. Rise of Universities. Architecture, Social Origin and Effects. Pomeranian “Conversion.” ARNOLD of Brescia, Social Reformer, Founder of Republic at Rome, Saint and	

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Prophet. St. FRANCIS of Assisi, his Mandate, Investiture, Rule, Propaganda, Enormous and Lasting Social Influence. St. Dominic. INNOCENT III., John of England and Magna Carta. Papal Autocracy at the Bar of Christ.	
PERIOD VIII.—THE SWAY OF THE FRIARS, A.D. 1216–1384	205
Movement Downwards: Contact with Common Folk, Reactions. Friars in Universities. St. Bonaventura. Robert Grosseteste. SIMON DE MONTFORT swayed by Franciscan impulses: Creator of English Parliament, Hero and Saint. Roger Bacon. THOMAS AQUINAS, his Social Teaching. CATHERINE of Siena, Saint and Statesman, her Companions. The Inquisition. St. LOUIS, Peacemaker in France, Municipal Reformer, his <i>filles-Dieu</i> . Cleavage between the Orders. MARCILIUS of Padua. Social Effect of GUNPOWDER. The Black Death. RIENZI, Tribune of Christian Revolution at Rome, his Reign of Justice. Swiss Peasants Victorious; the Jacquerie. English Peasants' Revolt: JOHN WICLIF, his "Divine Dominion," his Breach with Rome, his English Bible. Cities in Ferment. Decline of the Papacy. Dante. A Period of POPULARIZATION.	
PERIOD IX.—NATIONALITY: REVIVED PAGANISM, AND THE NEW WORLD, A.D. 1384–1492	235
Christianoid Nations. The Saving of France by JOAN of Arc under Orders from Above. John Huss, Maker of Bohemia. Victory and Propaganda of Hussites. In Poland and Lithuania. The TURKS in Europe: Hunyadi Janos: Franciscan Militancy. Rise of Russian Tsardom. Europe drifting to Absolutism. RENAISSANCE: Pagan Ascendancy. Roman Law, its Imperialism and Individualism. Religious Risings: Hans Böhm. Lay Religion. "The Brethren": the Leaven of Jesus. Pilgrimages, Social Good and Evil. Growth of Capitalism under the Church. Futile Councils. SAVONAROLA, Civic Reformer, Boys' Friend, Martyr. PRINTING. Oversea Exploration. COLUMBUS, his Inspiration, his Ultimate Aim.	

INTRODUCTION

Social Christianity, a new Phrase, an old Fact. Protest against Religious Individualism, and a Corrective. The Gospel a Social Message ; its Social Record in Spheres Economic, Political and Ecclesiastical. Social Results of Religious Individualism : How Explained. The Real Initiative.

SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY, as a phrase, is of comparatively recent origin. As a fact, it is as old as the Gospel. It began to be with Jesus. It will reach its completeness in the dispensation of the fulness of the ages. The phrase was coined in modern times by way of protest and correction. Christianity had too generally become a religious individualism. Even Harnack insists “Jesus never had any one but the individual in mind.” And Browning could pray:

My God, my God, let me for once look on Thee
As though nought else existed, we alone !
And as creation crumbles, my soul’s spark
Expands . . .

What the poet sought “for once,” popular evangelism took as its abiding view : men were bidden, in their religion, to think “as though nought else existed” but the individual soul and God : “we alone.” The vital and essential thing was supposed to be the saving of one’s own soul. Society, in all its forms and phases, was put in a much lower and

INTRODUCTION

less central place. It was held to be but the more or less hostile environment in which the vastly more important individual was to make sure of his own salvation. Social structures, social functions, social movements and social duties were ignored, or were merely glanced at, in a sort of ethical appendix, as affording conditions more or less unfavourable for the spiritual growth of the individual soul. The soul was thought of, apart from the body, apart from all encompassing fellowships : and as brought, thus isolated, into relation with God.

Against this lamentable perversion of the truth, the phrase Social Christianity was framed and aimed. It offers a pointed reminder that Christianity is essentially social. It is a modern reiteration of Augustine's indignant cry : " How could the City of God either take a beginning, or be developed, or attain its proper destiny, if the life of the saints were not a social life ? " From the very outset the Gospel was a social message. " The Kingdom of God is at hand " was the proclamation that stood first ; the demand " Repent and believe in the good news " came second, and was the personal application of the Social Evangel. A transformed and transfigured society—a saved world—was the supreme objective of the religion of Jesus: in pursuit of that, as his chief end, the individual found his own personal salvation. " Seek ye first the Kingdom of God " : " whosoever *will* save his own soul, shall lose it." Between these two poles, positive and negative,

INTRODUCTION

revolves the whole world of Social Christianity. Social relations are not, in the teaching of Jesus, secondary, derivative or accidental. They are not a temporary sphere for the conduct of the individual. They are texture and fibre of the New Life. The very purpose of Jesus was to found a Community—a Community which should fulfil and surpass the noblest dreams of Hebrew prophecy. The creation of that social miracle was His supreme achievement. It was the work of His life ; it was the work of His death ; it is the product of His continuous action in the Unseen and Transcendent sphere.

To show this process at work is the aim of our story. We shall see how utterly far Christianity has been from a “purely spiritual” religion. It has been intimately concerned from the first with the human body. It has healed the sick : it has fostered and demanded physical health : it has provided nursing ; it has founded hospitals ; it has developed the art and science of medicine. It has advanced the Woman’s movement by declaring equal value and equal moral standards for both sexes. It has laid down its own Marriage Laws ; it has doomed polygamy : it has branded adultery as worse than murder. It has forbidden Divorce. Prostitution it has regarded with horror : the Magdalen it has welcomed with loving pity : the betrayer it has denounced with loathing and with fiery wrath. It has made Chastity more precious

INTRODUCTION

than life. Parentage it has glorified, and children it has claimed as " holy " : it has banned with ascending execration marital incontinence, " race-suicide," pre-natal murder and infanticide. It has insisted on Education in character beginning with infancy. It has ennobled Labour. It has brought under equal brotherhood slave and slave-owner, master and servant. It has stood for honesty between buyer and seller. It has visited with stern censure excessive interest. It has laid down severe laws for property, while not abolishing it. All wealth it has declared to be a trust from God to be used for His ends. It has reminded the rich of the perils that attend their riches ; it has demanded from them large liberality to the poor. It has sternly rebuked all selfish accumulation. It has imposed especially grave limitations on the possession of Land, its extent and uses. It has demanded, and often made, provision for the Unemployed: for the Able, of work; for the unskilled, of training ; for the Unable, of Pensions. It has laid heavy and continuous emphasis on the duty of caring for Widows and Orphans. Prisoners, workers in dangerous occupations, and shipwrecked mariners have been its special charge. It has aimed at alleviating, if not removing Poverty. For the State it has ever cherished an intimate concern. Its essentially social genius has led it to respect every form of social cohesion and to discern in existing political associations, however imperfect, the print of a Divine pur-

INTRODUCTION

pose. It has been loyal and tolerant towards the "Powers that be." It has supported law and police as they impose penalties on the criminal and taxation on the community. It has quietly developed its own political ideals of a frank and equal brotherhood, wherein the first place falls to the chief servant. From the first it has proclaimed and promoted "the World one State." Over against the blank and abstract world-state of the Stoic and the nationless world of some modern Social-Democrats, it has ever aspired after a world-unity which includes "all peoples, nations and languages." For every State it offers its own high fraternal Foreign Policy. It has as its objective the extinction of war. Just wars it has tolerated, or commended as surgical operations intended to promote the international health. It has been active in caring for the wounded, and in repairing other ravages of war. It has been the inspiration of the Arts—notably of architecture, painting, literature and music. It has begotten again the Drama. It has purified and hallowed popular festivals. It has supplied that rational faith in the order and unity of the universe which made Science possible.

Its power of creating fellowship has been shown most clearly in its organization for social worship ; its Churches have been among the most powerful and persistent of social agencies. It has stood consciously as the standard of all Religion, and has

INTRODUCTION

welcomed with growing sympathy everything akin to itself in other faiths.

Alike by the fellowships which it has conserved or created, it has introduced into the world a new social Atmosphere and a new social Life ; and the contrast it presents to the world into which it was introduced only makes more manifest the creative miracle. And it has ever upheld the hope of a social beatitude of uttermost perfection in the life beyond the grave.

Christianity has done and shown these things, not as casual incidents on its earthly pilgrimage, but as part of its integral purpose. It came to create a new society, a new race, a new world ; and all its social activity belongs intrinsically to that creative end.

At the same time there is no intention here to overlook or disparage the wonderful social results of Christian Individualism. Again and again men and women whose first concern was to save their own soul and next to persuade other persons to save their own souls, have been driven by the immanent logic of their faith into vast movements of social amelioration. They were individualists, it is true. But they were *Christian* individualists. And the Christianity in them was too strong for their individualism : did, in fact, explode it. The soul seeking to be saved came into the presence of a Saviour whose nature and spirit are intensely social. They gained access to the Universal Father. So the intense individualism

INTRODUCTION

of the Methodist Revival was, by virtue of the Christ to whom each soul attached itself, constrained to abolish the slave-trade, to initiate popular education, to free the slave, to provide leaders for the Labour movement, to begin a new era in Foreign Missions. And in the person of Lord Shaftesbury, we see the straitest Evangelical of them all become the greatest of philanthropists and social reformers. The Christian individualist, provided he is more of a Christian than an individualist, is bound to develop into social Christianity.

So far social Christianity has been spoken of in impersonal terms. That may be allowed in a prefatory survey. But a closer view will reveal a deeper reality. As we trace more intently the emergence of new facts ; as we push back our investigation of new movements ; as we try to find out whence the creative impulse sprang, we come upon clear evidence of a Personal Will. “The First Push” is a personal Mandate. And as we compare these origins, we are compelled to refer them to One and the Same Person. The story of the true Church is, properly told, the continuous biography of Jesus. He is the chief Actor : He is the real Initiator : He is the constant Director. Of all progressive history He is the Maker.

To disentangle the lines of His leadership from the deflections and distortions and thwartings of human wills—to make clear what was His work and

INTRODUCTION

His command, and what were the blurring and retarding elements due to the men and societies through whom He deigned to act—is the most difficult problem before the believing historian. But the present writer feels he may not shirk the attempt.

PERIOD I

THE INAUGURATOR

His Message Social. A unique Force of Social Cohesion. His Ministry not "Purely Spiritual." His Teaching on Woman, Marriage, Child, Nature, Work and Trade, Poverty, Housing, the State, Internationalism, War, Art, the Church. The Social Consummation. The Social Sacrament.

SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY begins with the supremely Social Personality and His essentially Social Message. "Jesus came into Galilee preaching the Gospel of God and saying, The time is fulfilled and the Kingdom of God is at hand." To His hearers the Kingdom of God was the long expected Ideal Commonwealth of Israel portrayed by the prophets. It was the realm in which the Will of God is immediately and effectively operative : the Community, therefore, of justice and humanity, based on a great Act of Divine forgiveness : wherein War and Poverty and Disease are no more; wherein all nations live together in the enjoyment of perpetual peace, of profuse plenty and of unclouded health : and the whole is mediated into being by a Transcendent Person, entitled The Christ or The Son of Man. This great heritage of hope Jesus adopted : purged it of the narrow nationalism which exalted the Jew above the rest of mankind, and of the petty localism

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

which made Zion the seat of universal sway and worship ; but He retained and sublimed its notes of pardon, equity, kindness, peace, plenty and health : He took both the titles—the Christ and the Son of Man. The splendour of this ideal was embodied and transcended in the Person who proclaimed it. After-ages recur with a wonder ever fresh to the Force of social cohesion which came into the world with Jesus. No terms can describe the miracle of synthetic attraction which became flesh in Jesus. The social unity which He began to create when He called to Him the two fishermen, Simon and Andrew, has outlasted every kingdom and empire then in the world—except Japan ; and even Japan, to get rid of foreign courts within her borders, had to plead that for this purpose, at least, she belongs to the comity of Christian nations. That same social unity, whether compact in institutions, or pervasive like leaven, or as subtle and elusive as a fragrance, has persisted with growing vitality through nineteen centuries of convulsion. It has witnessed, unbroken, the downfall and dispersion of the Jewish nation, the break-up of the Roman Empire, the Barbarian inundation, the rupture of East and West, the assaults of Islam, the seismic split between Catholic and Protestant, the discovery of a new hemisphere, the more dazzling discoveries of modern physical science, the explosive fury of the French revolution. Amid all upheavals its seeming fragments, sundered by oceans, outwardly antagonis-

THE INAUGURATOR

nized by differences of race and culture and creed, hang inseparably together in attachment to the One Lord. And the Power which wrought this unique social Miracle spoke in the voice, looked through the eyes, throbbed in the heart of the Man of Nazareth.

Jesus was no teacher "purely spiritual." He came to make Man whole : and He made whole the body, mind and soul. He empowered His apostles to heal the sick and cast out demons. He raised Woman at a bound from her depressed estate ; ignored the Rabbinical disparagement of women and the surprise of His own disciples when they found Him talking with a woman ; welcomed women into the inner circle of His associates ; took with the Twelve on social tour a party of women ; and in this travelling fellowship made real the friendship which He introduced between men and women —quite apart from the exclusive union of wedlock. His commendation of Mary above Martha freed woman from sole preoccupation with domestic duties and opened up to her the pursuit of the highest truths and spiritual fellowship with the greatest souls.

On Marriage He legislated. He declared it to be the personal unity of one man and one woman, a unity created by God and indissoluble by man. He allowed no divorce. Yet this high and privileged estate might be renounced for a true and lifelong celibacy voluntarily undertaken in the interest of the Kingdom of God. He did not shrink from outbursts of passionate affection by women that had

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

fallen : He preferred the loving courtesan to the frigid Pharisee. Into the Kingdom of God, before the chief priests and elders, the harlots would be welcomed.

His tremendous stress on the value of the little child is only now being appreciated by public authorities in their promotion of child-welfare, child-study, child-training, and in their belated efforts to reduce infant mortality. Little children He fondled in His bosom : said " Of such is the kingdom of God " : set them as rebuke and example to His ambitious disciples ; and by saying that to receive a little child in His name was to receive Him and His Sender, He made parentage a Divine thing.

Of a new and better way of Education we call Wordsworth the initiator. Have we overlooked the stress on Nature-study laid by the behest to behold the birds of the sky and to study (*καταμάθετε*) the flowers of the field ? Have we taught our children to absorb the serenity and beauty of Nature as He did ? Have we gone like Him to the mountains and to the sea for spiritual renewal ?

From the Mount of the Beatitudes came to Orientals, with their passion for gorgeous jewellery, a Voice which said : " Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these " ; from Him we have learned that " the meanest flower which blows " is a witness to the exquisite Fatherliness. Distance is said to be an acquired perception : an inference from certain visual and tactile impressions. Jesus

THE INAUGURATOR

would bestow on us a deeper inference from sight of sun and rain, of flower and bird : He would enrich us with an acquired perception of God. Education based on this principle would make the universe a panorama of Deity : His companion Presence : in fuller sense than Berkeley's, a "visual speech of God."

The keynote of all industrial relations is struck in His great utterance on Service ; to serve is nobler than to be served : and in enforcing the duty to serve He implied the "right to work." The parable of labourers in the market-place and vineyard suggests that His sympathies went with the payment of a full day's wage to the men willing to work but unable for eleven hours of the day to find a job. Here is more than a hint for the problem of the Unemployed. On commercial questions the chief sayings are "Lend, hoping for nothing again," and in the Model Prayer, "We also have forgiven our debtors." Property He did not abolish : giving—the voluntary alienation of wealth—is clearest proof of the right of property. "Give to every one that asketh of you": "Sell that thou hast and give to the poor" are precepts which, however limited or controlled by the higher Law of Love, certainly posit as one of the privileges of property the exercise of a large generosity. The best investment of wealth was, He insisted—and modern economists agree with Him—in "personal capital." He pronounced material wealth, as the joint product of a

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

“ sinful and distorted generation,” to be “ tainted,” to be the mammon of unrighteousness. And the best use for this bad thing was to purchase friendship : “ make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness.”

The claim of the Poor He continually enforced : He twice fed the hungry multitudes : He gave to the poor from the purse He and His disciples had in common. He bade the rich distribute their riches to the poor. Neglect even of the “ least of these ”—the hungry, the thirsty, the ill-clad, the sick, the alien, the prisoner—entailed eternal punishment. Pursuit of the Kingdom would secure the addition of all other things that were necessary. So anxiety would be banished. In bidding men seek their “ inner chamber ” when they would address the Father, Jesus implied that in every dwelling there should be privacy for prayer—a principle which would, if carried out, involve a revolution in Housing. Obedience to His commands would mean the abolition of Poverty. When He told the disciples who grumbled at the waste of the ointment poured upon His head, “ Ye have the poor always with you,” He did not say that His followers should have the poor with them to the end of time. He was addressing those who were all dead in seventy years.*

* The prosperous middle class seem to love this text ; and to make it a perpetual prophecy they generally misquote it, and say : “ Ye shall have the poor always with you.” Why they find such satisfaction in this prospect is a question which may be put to their conscience in sensitive moods.

THE INAUGURATOR

To the State, whether Jewish or Roman, Jesus was loyally submissive. He paid the Temple tax and did not claim His filial exemption. He said the Roman tribute must be paid : “To Caesar what is Caesar’s : to God what is God’s” ; but what is Caesar’s was in the last resort included under what is God’s ; for even the power that crucified Him was “from Above.” In one great passage He ridiculed the grand airs and titles assumed by the putative rulers of men, lording it over their fellows ; and at the same time laid down the principles of political arrangement among His own followers : service, not domination, was the mark of the real rulers ; the greatest was the servant of all. Add to this that other saying, “Be ye not called Rabbi, for you are all brothers” ; and you have, implicit, genuine Christian democracy.

His attitude to other nations was—painfully or ironically?—expressed to the Syro-Phœnician woman, when He spoke, as did other Jews, of the Gentiles as dogs. But He held up the compassionate Samaritan, as against Jewish priest and Levite, to universal admiration and imitation. In the Roman centurion, He found greater faith than He had seen in Israel. From the extorters of Roman taxes He chose an Apostle and many friends. True to prophecy and to His own parting words, the Kingdom of God was to include all the nations. This, of course, meant in the end universal peace. War was within the scope of the providence of God : wars,

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

famines, earthquakes, were but the beginning of the birth-pangs of the New Era. At the Arrest in the Garden, He bade Peter—not fling away sword and scabbard—but put up his sword into its place : “ for all that take the sword shall perish with the sword ”—a statement true of the disciples at that moment, surprised as they were by an overwhelming force, but absolutely false if taken as a proposition for all time. So the fourth Gospel reports Jesus as saying : “ If My kingdom were of this world, then would My officers fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews,” the last words obviously limiting the statement to the particular occasion of His being delivered to the Jews.

The germs of Art—of spontaneous joy and uncalculating devotion—are seen in the beatitude “ Ye shall laugh ” and in His rebuke of the utilitarian critics of the outpoured ointment : as well as in declaring that a single field flower far surpassed the glory of the most glorious of Oriental monarchs. But the splendour of temple Architecture could not save it from the doom of “ a den of robbers ” and of an apostate people.

His Church Jesus founded when He called the Twelve and gave them the distinctive name of Apostles “ that they might be with Him and that He might send them forth to preach ” and heal : indicating thus early the twin functions, internal and external, of the Church—fellowship and propaganda, edification and evangelism. In the scene

THE INAUGURATOR

at Cæsarea Philippi, in which He had been proclaimed The Christ, He said both "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My church," and shortly afterwards "Get thee behind Me, Satan ! for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men." At one moment, the confessor of the Christ, the living stone to whom coming the other living stones shall be joined into the "spiritual House" of the ages ; at another moment the cross-shirker, the Satan—yet in both the same Peter ! What a vivid compendium of ecclesiastical history : the same Church at one time the very embodiment of the Rock of Ages : at other times—the very Devil !

The essentially social nature of the purpose of Jesus, manifest throughout His life and teaching, appears, perhaps most characteristically, in His portrayal of the grand Consummation. This was no separate apotheosis of perfected souls. His favourite figure for the fully arrived Kingdom of God was the wedding-feast. Not Temple, not synagogue, not the innumerable cells of isolated worshippers, but the glad festal fellowship that attends God's creative Act which out of twain maketh one ; the human rhapsody of social bliss.

And in commemoration of Himself, of His self-bestowal in death, and of His incorporation of His followers in Himself, He instituted not any act of solemn worship, to be celebrated in stately public edifice, but a Meal-together, as in the upper room,

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

the guests resting each in the bosom of the other, and all partaking of simple bread and wine. The Holy Supper is the central sacrament of Social Christianity.*

* For a fuller and more detailed statement of what is given in this and the following chapter, see "The Kingdom of God: a Plan of Study" (T. & T. Clark) and "The Proletarian Gospel of Galilee" (Labour Publishing Co.)—both by the present author.

PERIOD II

THE TIMES OF THE APOSTLES : THE SOCIAL ORGANISM OF THE CHRIST

Jesus as Social Creator. "The Brothers." The Common Purse. Standard of Distribution. The first Fissure, the Lure of the "Purely Spiritual." STEPHEN the Pioneer. Decisive Appearances of the Risen One to Stephen, Saul, Ananias. The first Gentile Church. PAUL's Social Work and Teaching. The new Social Organism. The Apostles' Teaching on the Body, Woman, Marriage, Slavery and Freedom, Rules for Industry, Poverty, Politics, Military Service : Appreciation of Sport. "The New Jerusalem" and Art : Church and Kingdom. The Central Idea in Three Stages.

THE work of Jesus as Social Creator during His visible sojourn on earth has too generally escaped attention. Our gaze has been fixed on Him rather than on the wonderful thing that He was creating. But when His presence became too bright for mortal eyes to see, the Deed which He had done stood out visible and tangible. The Community was there which He came to found.

Of the extent of this community we have no sure knowledge or even a probable estimate. There were the Eleven. There were the women who travelled with them. There were, inclusive of these, the 120 gathered in the upper chamber in Jerusalem. Paul gives us a still larger number ; Jesus after His death, "appeared to above 500 brethren at once." There must have been many times that number in

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

Galilee, in Judæa, and in the other regions where Jesus had taught. But taking only the figure given and multiplying the 500 by four to include wives, children, other dependants, and absentees, we are far within the limits of the probable when we say that the New Community consisted certainly of 2,000 souls.

The name means far more than the number. They were called "The Brothers." The society which had grown into being under the creative touch of Jesus did not style itself at first the believers, or the followers, or the Church ; they were simply The Brothers. The community was embodied brotherliness.

As such it was bound to organize itself practically. It kept up in the town that habit of a common purse which ruled in the Travelling Fellowship of Galilee : only now transfigured by the glory of the Resurrection and by the Wonder that pervaded and encompassed them all. What is called the Descent of the Spirit raised the social consciousness of the Brothers to a Life Divine.

So, being "of one heart and soul" "they had all things common." This was a voluntary communism. The right of property was explicitly acknowledged. But this, we may be told, is an ideal picture. None the less it shows the ideal to which the Christian heart of the common people has turned, generation after generation. For here the Christian principle of Grace emerges in the economic sphere ; dis-

THE NEW SOCIAL ORGANISM

tribution is made to each, not according to rank, or power, or ability, or work, but according to need ; and in a society wherein every man was taught a handicraft, and wilful idleness was regarded as a crime, the result was the abolition of want.

Widows were especially cared for. The Son of a widowed mother, faithful to the humane laws of His race, had made His followers from the first very mindful of the widow.

But it was just here that the first breakdown occurred. In administering the common bounty, the Apostles departed from the sole criterion of need. The Hebrews spoke Aramaic, and were more narrow and rigid in their exercise of the Jewish faith. The Hellenists spoke Greek and had more of the breadth and freedom that came with Greek culture. And the Apostles favoured the Hebrew widows in the daily distribution ; they passed over the Hellenist widows. This favouritism, which could scarcely have been unconscious, introduced the first cleavage into the social unity which Jesus had created. Much grumbling ensued. To prevent further mismanagement, the Apostles got the believers to appoint the Seven. The grounds offered by the Apostles for the change are ominous. “ It is not fit that we should forsake the Word of God and serve tables. . . . We will continue stedfastly in prayer and in the service of the Word.” And these were the men whom Jesus bade serve the hungry crowds in the wilderness ! Now they

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

looked down on "serving tables" as beneath them ; they would leave it to inferior officers ; they would concentrate on prayer and preaching. Here we see that hankering after the "purely spiritual" at the expense of "merely social" work, which has done such despite to the broad mandate of the Christ. Did they forget that it was not tables they were serving, but widows—human lives that suffered and had need, some of "the least of these" whom their Master had, with tremendous severity, championed ? Happily He soon showed that His mind was other than theirs.

The next great advance of the Kingdom, in the Word and in the Spirit, came not through the Apostles, but through the Seven. It was Stephen whom the living Master used to heal the breach between Hebrew and Hellenist within the Christian society ; it was Stephen whom He employed to set about destroying the barriers that kept apart Jew and Gentile. It was Stephen who took up again Jesus' campaign against "the den of robbers," who denounced as the culminating crime of Israel the worship of the Temple, who declared the religion of Jesus to be law-free and Temple-free. And it was Stephen, the Social Christian, who was honoured in his death by a vision of the Son of Man rising to welcome him home. To this intrepid pioneer, Jesus "showed Himself alive"—and regnant. This "appearance"—attested by the evidence of the saint on the edge of death—must be

THE NEW SOCIAL ORGANISM

added to the list of "appearances" given in the Gospels and in Paul's first letter to Corinth.

The task of creating a social synthesis which should include all languages and nations, was not checked ; it was furthered by the death of Stephen. The scattered Brothers took with them the contagion of brotherhood. And the same Son of Man who had risen to greet the martyr appeared in order to make the arch-persecutor Stephen's successor and the chief instrument in His creating out of Jew and Gentile one New Man.

Jesus Himself apprehended Paul on the way to Damascus as really and historically as He had called Simon and Andrew by the Galilean lake. To complete the capture, He Himself approached Ananias and sent him to baptize the new apostle. Neither Paul nor Ananias was at first willing to obey : there was resistance ; there was expostulation : but in the end, their wills were overpowered by the Will of Jesus.

Yet another Appearance was needed to drive Paul to his destined career. His passionate desire was to evangelize the Jews : on them, he thought, his record of persecution and conversion would produce a profound impression. But while praying in the Temple, he entered into an ecstasy and "saw the Lord" ; and Jesus then and there peremptorily bade him renounce his Jewish plans, saying, "Depart : for I will send thee forth far hence unto the Gentiles ! "

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

So, ever and again, the Commander-in-Chief of the great social campaign emerged into view, visibly at crucial moments, usually by unseen impacts, directing His forces and selecting His officers. His "hand" was felt at Antioch when fugitive Brothers "preached the Lord Jesus" to the Gentiles and won over a great number "to the Lord." So He founded the first Gentile Church ; the second capital of expanding Christendom ; the base whence Paul went out to conquer the Roman world.

The work of this apostle was much more social than ecclesiastical. Wherever he went, he founded communities rather than what we conventionally know as Churches. He planted fellowship after fellowship, in Cyprus and Asia Minor : guided by the Spirit of Jesus, he turned aside from Bithynia ; and after the night-vision of the man of Macedonia, knew on waking that Jesus meant him to go over to Europe. He went on planting colonies of Christ in Macedonia, Achaia and Illyricum. He linked them together first by his own personal touch, and next by common almsgiving. He magnanimously strove to bind his new communities to the mother-Church at Jerusalem—the seat and source of his bitterest traducers—by generous collections for the Jewish poor. By this social service, of Gentile bounty to Hebrew poverty, he tried to gather all the Churches into one.

But in all this tireless work of propaganda and organization, he was guided by "visions and revela-

THE NEW SOCIAL ORGANISM

tions of the Lord.” Christ spoke through him ; he was “a man in Christ Jesus” ; he no longer lived, but Christ lived in him. That glorious Personality was active in and through him. And by an experience that encircled most of the Mediterranean seaboard, he was aware that the new communities, of different race, rank, creed, were “all one Man in Christ Jesus.”

That was a stupendous social result. Trying to image it forth in thought, Paul came upon the figure of the human body. “As the body is one and hath many members, so also is Christ.” Jesus had, in modern phrase, created a Social Organism. He was not merely the Head : “the Body is Christ.” So Paul was guided to his deepest thinking on the supreme turning-point of human history. The intensely social power of Jesus, in at once loyally affiliating Himself to the whole human past and identifying Himself with every one who believed in Him, led Paul on to argue that the whole human race had died in Jesus’ death, and had risen again in His resurrection. The Cross marked the Death-Birth. It was the death of the old social organism, the placental wrappings once preparatory, now “the body of sin and death” ; it was the birth of the new social organism, the New Man. Out of the bosom of the old world, Jewish and Pagan, was born, in the labour-pangs of the Crucifixion, the Humanity, in which there cannot be Gentile and Jew, male and female, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman ; but “Christ is all and in all.”

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

This is the outcome of Paul's deepest experience and hardest thinking : a Kingdom of God, a new Humanity, a Christendom, a social organism, which is at the same time a Personality ; nay, THE Personality. The unitive Life of the new creation was no abstract Order, or Influence, or manner of conduct, or mere tenuous spirit : it was Christ Himself, the most concrete, intensely real Person, pervading, impelling, crowning all persons and fellowships included in Him. Other thinkers, ancient and modern, have treated society as an organism ; but Paul is unique in insisting that the Social Organism has a Personal Unity, and that Unity Christ. So he supplies the master-key to sociology. So theology is by him socialized.

Right in the thick of his planting and tending, shaping and guiding of the many scattered fellowships, Paul declared, as first-hand witness, the work to be the work of Jesus, done at His orders and by His strength. So Paul sees and makes us see the Social Creatorship of Jesus.

Apostolic Christianity in general was full of social service and of social teaching. On the human body wonder-deeds of healing and exorcism were wrought ; even the dead were raised, in the name of Jesus. Body as well as soul and spirit were to be presented faultless and entire at the day of Jesus. We are to glorify God in our body. Paul buffeted his body and brought it under subjection, but as a good athlete would, to make it responsive immediately to

THE NEW SOCIAL ORGANISM

his will. The goal of the travail of the ages was to Paul "the redemption of the body." "The spiritual body" was the form in which it would survive death. There is no ascetic disparagement of the body.

Woman's absolute equality with man is implied in the great utterance, "There can be no male or female, but One Person in Christ Jesus." The social baptism of Pentecost was hailed as fulfilment of the promise that came by Joel, "Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy : on My bondmen and on My bondmaidens will I pour forth of My Spirit ; and they shall prophesy." Women became prophetesses ; they served as deacons. Paul would not suffer a woman to teach, but the prophet ranked higher than the teacher, and there is something humorous in the fact of Paul, with his grim notions of woman's inferiority, staying as guest in the house of Philip who "had four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy."

Marriage was declared to be indissoluble, and this on the express authority of Jesus. But Paul, even while quoting "the Lord," introduced a serious exception : If husband or wife is deserted by an unbelieving partner, "the brother or sister is not under bondage in such cases." And he seemed to think of marriage, less as the Divine creation of which Jesus spoke, than as a mere safety valve for animal passion. His placing the body of each partner at the absolute disposal of the other, had

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

indeed as motive the wish to safeguard each from vice, but left out of sight that over both ruled a higher law than the gratification of the desires of either. His advice against marrying was more due to his expectation of the early Coming of Christ, than to an ascetic disparagement of wedlock. But once marriage is lowered to a mere remedy against sensualism, it is degraded in the eyes of the pure. Wedded life was glorified in the letter to the Ephesians as a parable of the marriage of the Christ and the Church. But throughout the Epistles, the wife is exhorted to reverence and obey her husband in all things. This subordination is inconsistent with the moral equality implied by the whole spirit of the Gospel. The woman has direct access to God and is directly accountable to Him : she must obey God rather than man, even if the man be her husband.

The duties of parentage are limited to bringing up children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, to inflicting the necessary chastisement and avoiding provocation.

Slavery is tolerated, even preferred to freedom. The runaway Onesimus is sent back by Paul to his master. Slaves are bidden to render cheerful obedience : slave-owners to forbear threatening and to give that which is just and equal. Their relations were lifted into the higher sphere of a common brotherhood and of a common accountability to the Master in Heaven. "No longer as a slave, but more

THE NEW SOCIAL ORGANISM

than a slave, a brother beloved ” ; these words to Philemon morally involve the ultimate disappearance of slavery.

Spiritual freedom is unhesitatingly proclaimed. The Christian slave is the Lord’s freedman. Freedom of conscience is stoutly maintained : the freedom of the strong conscience which can do things that shock the timid and weak conscience, as well as the freedom of the latter. The believer is free to observe such days and to eat such food as his settled judgment approves. He is free from the external law of Judaism. “ With freedom did Christ set us free.” “ Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Freedom.” But freedom is not to be used as an occasion for the flesh : it is to be brought under the law of service and of love.

Industry and Commerce are rarely mentioned. The injunction by Titus “ to maintain good works ” may be also translated “ to profess honest occupations ” with a view to providing the necessities of life. So believers in Thessalonica are bidden to work and eat their own bread. Precautions unnecessary with industrious Jews are imposed on the slacker Gentile : “ if any will not work, neither let him eat.” One of the most far-reaching rules for economic life is stated almost casually, as an accepted axiom : “ The husbandman that laboureth must be the first to partake of the fruits.” The living wage of the labourer must be the first charge upon production.

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

The voluntary Communism prevalent among the earliest Brothers is expanded by Paul into a great scheme of reciprocal support among the various Christian communities : “ Your abundance being a supply at this present time for their want, that their abundance also may become a supply for your want : that there may be equality ” : and then follows a suggestion of voluntary taxation of the most drastic kind : “ He that gathered much had nothing over : and he that gathered little had no lack.”

The different schools and provinces of apostolic evangelism unite in accepting the duty : “ Remember the poor.” The rich are charged to be rich in good works, to be ready to distribute ; they are warned of the accumulation of judgment that comes of accumulating evanescent wealth : the reward of Labour of which they have defrauded their workmen cries to God for vengeance.

The “ simple life ” is frequently commended. “ Having food and covering, let us therewith be content.” Ornament and elaborate coiffure are expressly disallowed.

The State is respected and honoured by the apostolic writers. The powers that be are ordained of God ; they are ministers of God’s service : they are a terror to evildoers : they bear not the sword in vain ; they must be obeyed and their dues must be paid ; prayers and thanks are to be offered for kings and all that are in high place, with a view to general tranquillity and peace. Christians are bidden

THE NEW SOCIAL ORGANISM

to be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake,—to the king and his governors alike, as appointed “for vengeance on evildoers and for praise to them that do well.” Paul claimed his rights as a Roman citizen to save him from riot, torture and an unfair trial. He was evidently proud of his Roman citizenship.

WARS are derived by James from love of pleasures, lust, jealousy. But there is no express prohibition of taking part in war. Paul gladly availed himself of protection by Roman soldiers from mob-violence and from treacherous ambush. He seemed to be on good terms with centurion and military tribune. His “bonds became manifest in Christ throughout the whole Prætorian Guard”—a suggestion that some of the guardsmen became Christians ; and there is no word in reprobation of their calling.

But all forms of Government were regarded by Paul as merely evanescent, and destined to yield to a Higher Sway. In the end Christ “shall have abolished all rule and all authority and power.” As we would say to-day, Autocracy, oligarchy, democracy must all be superseded by Christocracy.

For Sport a perhaps unexpected appreciation appears. The games had evidently captured Paul's imagination. He refers sympathetically to the rules of the game, the laws of sport, the training of the athlete, to racing, boxing, the theatre and contests unspecified. The figure of the racer supplies the most vivid picture of his own career in quest of the

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

high calling of God : it is the crowning metaphor in the Epistle to the Hebrews. These early writers believed in "playing the game." Thus early welcome was given in Christian circles to true sportsmanship.

The one book of apostolic times which is at once most uncouth in form and yet most provocative of Art is John's Apocalypse. Its wonderful procession of pictures has been the inspiration in eminent degree of Painting and of Music. Its suggestion of Architecture has mostly reflected the gorgeous Oriental imagination, with its love of golden splendour and its passion for precious stones : but its scheme of urban beauty reaches its climax in the sketch of a pellucid stream flowing through the main avenue and fringed on both sides with the foliage of ever-fruitful trees. The final glimpse of ultimate perfection reveals a City : a city of infinite costliness and magnificence, radiant with unceasing light, fragrant with incense, vibrant with music, shot through with the healing charm of river and woodland : a compact home of spotless fellowship. Its title "the New Jerusalem" has kindled in the hearts of civic reformers to-day glorious dreams of a New Paris, a New London, a New Chicago.

To Science this period has lent the fundamental faith that the Universe is One, is the continuous outcome of One Supreme Intelligence, is the development of One Purpose. "Of Him and through Him and unto Him are all things."

THE NEW SOCIAL ORGANISM

In these apostolic times, Churches and the Church receive great prominence. The Kingdom of God which was foremost in the teaching of Jesus recedes in the writings of His immediate successors before the advancing claims of the Church. The change was natural if not inevitable. The fashioning of the Instrument took thought away from the great Object which the Instrument was fashioned to shape : and the Kingdom tended ever more and more to "leave the ground and lose itself in the sky." It became the distant goal, not so much the actual process. Nevertheless, each of the Churches was much more an epitome of the Kingdom—a spore of organized love—than a mere organization for public worship : and the whole Church was, as the Body of Christ, expanded into something that was scarcely distinguishable from the Kingdom. It became the "fulness of Him who filleth all in all."

This change in the growth of the Kingdom need give rise to no alarm. Jesus Himself foretold a series of metamorphoses : the seed corn should pass through the various stages—most unlike itself—of first the blade, then the ear. But our concern is to keep ever in mind the Grain of corn whence it sprang, and the full corn in the ear that is yet to be ; viewing with calm patience the disguise of the Life in blade and straw and flower and the unfilled ear.

But as our guide through all the ages of change, the apostolic period has completed the main stages

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

of Revelation. THE STANDARD OF SOCIETY which is also the CENTRAL THEME OF THE GOSPEL has been disclosed in its three successive phases :

1. The Ideal Commonwealth of Israel according to the Prophets ;
2. The Kingdom of God as it is in Jesus ;
3. The Social Organism of the Christ (Body and Members ; and Vine and Branches) as set forth by Paul and John.

The succession of these three stages supplies the Right Line of Social Evolution.

PERIOD III

THE PENETRATION AND CAPTURE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, A.D. 90—325

Christianity changing. Its Triple Entrenchment. NICENE CREED, Social Import, Pagan Influences. Episcopate and Empire: Deification of the Bishop. Was Secularizing necessary? The Church a marvellous Creation. The Appearance to CONSTANTINE. Social Christianity in the Church Fathers: Clement of Rome, Papias, "Didache," Polycarp, Ignatius, Epistle to Diognetus, Barnabas, Shepherd of Hermas, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Hegesippus, Irenaeus, Dionysius, Second Clementine, Theophilus, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Cornelius, Eusebius, Lactantius. Apostolical Constitutions. Laws of Constantine.

THE two and a quarter centuries which elapsed between the writing of Clement's Epistle and the sole sway of Constantine cover a period of stupendous change in the appearance of the Christian religion. The hope of the imminent Return of Jesus faded as the generations passed. The ecstasy of the early prophets was suppressed. The Kingdom of God receded more and more into the far-off future. The Church advanced in prominence until it filled the whole foreground.

Christianity, having been planted in the world, absorbed many alien elements from the pagan soil in which it grew. To protect itself from heresy within and attacks from without, it developed a hard shell of Canon, of Creed, and of alleged continuity

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

with the apostles. It performed the service, ever gratefully to be remembered, of selecting from a mass of religious literature the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

The evolution of Creed proceeds from the simple confession of apostolic times, that "Jesus is the Christ" or "Jesus is Lord," to the elaborate symbol of Nicaea. The latter is intended to preserve what is most precious to the Christian heart. But it succumbed to the Greek love of subtle distinctions and tenuous abstractions. It yielded to the fundamental error of Greek intellectualism, that "Knowledge is virtue." It fell therefore under the Greek tendency to lay more stress on defining Jesus than on following Him ; and to exalt Right Opinion above Right Purpose. The Christian soul will ever be grateful for its magnificent ascriptions of Deity to Jesus. But the loyalty thus almost defiantly shown signally failed to reproduce the actual teaching of Jesus of Nazareth. The Kingdom of God which is central in His Gospel is not even mentioned in the Creed : it only states that the Kingdom of Jesus "shall have no end." There is nothing in it to show, as Jesus did, the faith that the prime duty of man is to "seek first the Kingdom of God," that repentance and faith, denial of self and following Jesus, are conditions of entrance, that God is the Father of all men, that therefore all men are brothers, that the supreme Law of life is Love—to God and to our neighbour, that the distinctive rule of Chris-

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

tian fellowship is to love one another as Jesus has loved us, that our eternal destiny depends on our care or neglect of the hungry, the thirsty, the ill clad, the alien, the sick, the prisoner. These things are not mere maxims of conduct, they are articles of faith. In their omission the Greek deflection of perspective is plainly evident.

But in spite of all the influence of pagan philosophy, the Nicene Creed is a great triumph of Social Christianity. God is shown as no Individual, living in eternal solitude, but as from eternity to eternity essentially *social*. The Life of Deity is conceived as inevitably fellowship : the life of Father and Son, of eternal Thought and Love and Purpose, with an Object equally eternal and responsive. Nicene Christianity has banished individualism from the inmost sanctuary of the faith.

In social organization, Christianity was powerfully influenced by the pagan Empire. The Church may in its earliest local phases have owed much to Greek and Roman collegia of various kinds, notably burial clubs, and also to the Jewish synagogue ; but the chief formative attraction, whether consciously recognized or not, was Roman Imperialism. From an equal group of officers, named indifferently presbyters or bishops, the presiding elder, possibly by virtue of his being the receiver and dispenser of all offerings, became chief, and the title of bishop was restricted to him. As the city Church extended and had many branches, they were entrusted to

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

presbyters under the superintendence of the bishop of the mother-Church. Gradually the bishops of the greatest cities extended their sway over the surrounding country ; and Diocletian's term—*diocese*—for a political division of his Empire passed into the Church. By tracing their episcopal pedigree back to the apostles, the bishops claimed to be authoritative on “the faith once for all delivered to the” apostles. By the further aid of the Canon of Scripture and the Rule of Faith, they held themselves and their flocks to the normal standard, as they conceived it. By frequent interchange of correspondence and messengers and even visits between themselves, the bishops kept in touch with each other ; generous help from the stronger to the weaker or suffering churches strengthened the mutual ties, until throughout the provinces of the Roman Empire, the Churches felt themselves to be members of One Universal or Catholic Church. The analogy with the Empire is obvious. The Catholic Church grew to be an Empire within the Empire.

A much more serious development took place in the position and power of the presiding clergy. In the first extant Epistle of Paul (1 Thess.), the Brothers are exhorted to know them that are over them in the Lord and to esteem them exceedingly highly in love for their work's sake. But in the Patristic period vastly higher claims are put forward. Clement of Rome (*cir. A.D. 96*) speaks of deacons corresponding to the Levites and bishops to the priests of Israel, so

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

showing the entry into the Christian Church of Jewish sacerdotalism, which was wholly absent from the New Testament. The "Didache" ("Teaching of the Apostles") says, "Thou shalt honour as the Lord him that speaketh unto thee the word of God," and requires first-fruits to be given to bishop and deacon as to the priests of the Old Covenant. Ignatius (*cir.* 110) takes a greater stride forward. He tells the Ephesians (vi.) "it is clear that you must regard the bishop as the Lord Himself." This process of bishop-worship once begun, goes on until the Apostolical Constitutions inform the laity, "The bishop is next after God your earthly God" (i. 26). The Roman Emperor had long been deified, even during his lifetime. Here we have, full-blown, the Deification of the Bishop.

We have travelled far from Galilean days. Then apostles quarrelling over precedence were told that only those who were humble as a little child, could be great in the Kingdom of God ; and all high-sounding titles were peremptorily forbidden.

These departures from the original type may claim some justification from the time during which they came to be. True, the Scriptures were to some extent in the mind of the Church Hebraized. The faith was Hellenized. The Church was Romanized. The Bishop was deified. But the question arises : Could the Christian life have entered into those Roman and Greek lives except by some such secularization ? And another question follows : Was this adaptation to the existing environment,

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

mental and social, designed by the ever-active Christ? Or was it against His Will—tolerated and eventually overruled by His grace?

Certain it is that the great cluster of communities—much more than ecclesiastical groups—which constituted the Catholic Church was one of the most marvellous of social creations. It was a surpassing witness to the social genius of Christianity. There was in the first three centuries no exercise of the coercive power which is generally thought necessary to the founding of States. No sword was raised to hew out a way for its advance. Greek thought and Roman organization were used, as has been shown; but the creative force was Christian. It was the “love of those first Christian days”; it was the dynamic of love never so known or so concentrated or so victorious before. Through the conduit of Roman brick, glazed with Greek philosophy, there poured a river of new life into the ancient world. It pressed into the morass of decadent morals and nameless corruption,—a tide of spiritual health, of purity, tenderness, mutual helpfulness, untiring constancy, sublime heroism and invincible love. That called into being an Empire within the Empire; and the outer Empire when it turned with all its force against the inner, could not destroy it, could not break it—was on the contrary compelled to capitulate. Professor Freeman declares the Christian conquest of the Roman Empire to be the greatest miracle of time. And at the culminating

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

crisis, the great Miracle-Worker showed Himself. According to evidence which cannot be set aside, on the eve of the encounter which was to decide the fate of the Roman world, a Sign of the Cross flamed across the sky, and with it the words : "In this conquer" ; and at night Christ appeared to Constantine, bidding him adopt that as his and his army's sign. May one say, with all reverence, it was entirely like Jesus, not to reserve His Appearance for the immaculate saint or mature believer, but to come to the man of action weighed down with a sense of the vast issues to be decided on the morrow, not yet avowedly a Christian, but called to shape the world anew. He claimed the Emperor at Saxa Rubra as He had claimed the Persecutor on the way to Damascus. In the strength of that Vision, Constantine did the daring deed which made him master of Rome and founder of the Christian Empire.

So came to pass the greatest achievement hitherto of Social Christianity.

The deeper and more dynamic transformation of society which quietly went on in this period can perhaps best be traced by citing, roughly in the order of time, the witness tendered by early Christian writers known as Fathers of the Church.

CLEMENT, bishop of Rome, wrote, some time between A.D. 93 and 97, in a friendly, brotherly way, without any assumption of official authority, to the Church at Corinth, to expostulate with its members

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

on the dismissal of certain elders who had been duly appointed. The letter is a very kindly exhortation on the necessity of harmony and loving subordination. "Let the rich man provide for the wants of the poor, and let the poor man bless God because He has given him one by whom his need is supplied." The letter is also a glorification of hospitality and of the love which prompts it. "Faith and hospitality" are linked with obedience as the saving qualities of Old Testament heroes. As examples of love, Clement states : "We know many among ourselves who have given themselves up to bonds in order that they might ransom others. Many, too, have surrendered themselves to slavery and with the price received for themselves have provided food for others."

So, as the curtain is raised for the first time after the days of the apostles, social Christianity is seen in full and vigorous action. Hospitality was the outward and visible means whereby the scattered communities were held together ; and the love which inspired it appears among the Roman Christians with such depth of social passion that brother goes to gaol to let out an imprisoned brother or sells himself as a slave to get money thereby to feed the hungry.

PAPIAS, of Hierapolis in Phrygia, wrote in the second or third decade of the second century some four or five books, in which he related what he had learned from ear-witnesses of Andrew, Peter, Philip, the presbyter John, and others who had accompanied

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

with Jesus. As quoted by Irenaeus, Papias told how the elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, mentioned that they had heard from him how the Lord taught, and said :

“ The days will come in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand stems, and on each stem ten thousand branches, and on each branch ten thousand shoots, and on each shoot ten thousand clusters, and on each cluster ten thousand grapes, and each grape, when pressed, shall give twenty-five measures of wine. . . . Likewise also that a grain of wheat would produce ten thousand ears, and each grain ten pounds of fine clear flour ; and so all remaining fruits and seeds and each herb according to its proper nature ; and all animals, using for their foods what is received from the earth, shall become peaceful, and in concord, being subject to men with all subjection.”

Judas is reported as being incredulous. But Papias says, “ These things are believable to believers.”

This passage is undoubtedly like what is found in the Jewish Apocalypses, but that is no decisive ground for rejecting Papias’ testimony that it was an utterance of Jesus. It is in line with Hebrew prophecy (*cf.* Isa. xxx. 23). It seems a true reminiscence of the stress Jesus laid on the exuberant plenty which should prevail in the Kingdom of God. Something of the kind hovers before the mind of every scientific agriculturist to-day ; and his talk of the millions and trillions

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

of fertilizing microbes goes far beyond the profusion of apocalyptic arithmetic.

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES (commonly cited as the *DIDACHE*) is attributed by various critics to different times between A.D. 100 and 140. It is a manual of precepts and practice. There is in it the echo of the early communism : “Thou shalt not turn away him that needeth, but shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say that they are thine own ; for if you are fellowsharers in that which is immortal, how much more in mortal things ?” But this generosity is not to be without recompense. “If thou hast anything, thou shalt give with thy hands a ransom for thy sins.” Here begins an expression of what is frequent later, the belief that almsgiving will secure remission of sins. A further and less questionable reflection reveals the possible abuse of indiscriminate liberality. “He that gives according to the commandment is guiltless ; and if any one receives having need, he is guiltless : but he that hath not need shall give account.” Yet even the giver must exercise deliberation : “Let thine alms sweat into thy hands till thou know to whom thou shouldest give.” For the travelling preacher, called Prophet or Apostle, provision of hospitality is commanded ; but not for more than three days, and when he goes he must take no more than will feed him till he reaches his next night’s billet. A true prophet wishing to settle is worthy of his food ; likewise a true teacher. The

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

first-fruits of every kind were to be given to the prophets : “ but if ye have no prophets, give to the poor.” There are several precautions against what are called Christ-traffickers. But every Christian—“ every one that comes in the name of the Lord”—shall be welcome ; to be tested and known. For the wayfarer, accommodation for two or three days at the utmost is prescribed. “ If he wishes to settle among you, let him work and eat. But if he has not a craft, provide according to your understanding, that no Christian shall live idle among you.” We see here the wonderful intercommunication of life which is made possible. So they could join in the Eucharistic prayer : “ As this bread was scattered upon the mountains and gathered together became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom.” So a common consciousness was maintained. Safeguards were necessary, as has been shown. A simple, but terrible, form of discipline is adopted towards the offender : “ With every one that transgresses against another, let no one speak, nor let him hear a word from you, until he repent.” Those early Brothers lived in and by fellowship. So the word runs : “ Be ye frequently gathered together.”

POLYCARP, the Bishop of Smyrna, in his epistle to the Philippians (written between 112 and 118), says, “ Let the presbyters be compassionate and merciful to all, bringing back those that wander,

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

visiting all the sick, and not neglecting the widow, the orphan or the poor" (vi.).

IGNATIUS, writing to Polycarp about 110, says, "Let not the slaves long to be set free at the public expense, that they be not found slaves to their own desires." This shows that out of the funds of the Church, slaves were sometimes set free. Ignatius apparently thinks the initiative in the emancipation should come, not from the slaves, but from the Church. He would also bring marriages under the control of the bishop.

The anonymous EPISTLE to DIOGNETUS (written A.D. 117 (Westcott) or 150 (Lightfoot) gives a fine picture of Christians as the New Race in the world, yet not of the world. It says :

"Christians dwell in their own countries, but simply as sojourners. As citizens, they share in all things with others, and yet endure all things as if foreigners. They marry as do all. They have a common table, but not a common bed. . . . What the soul is in the body, that are Christians in the world. The soul is enclosed in the body ; and yet itself holds the body together : so Christians are kept in the world as in a prisonhouse, and yet they themselves hold the world together. The soul is dispersed through all the members of the body ; and Christians are scattered through all the cities of the world" (v. and vi.).

This is very far from a mere ecclesiastical valuation of life. It sets forth the New Race pervading all

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

phases of social life : as what we might now call the spirit of social cohesion.

The EPISTLE of BARNABAS, written before A.D. 132, explains in its allegorical way the Levitical laws on clean and unclean foods. The command not to eat the flesh of eagle or hawk, or kite or raven means : "Thou shalt not join thyself to such men as know not how to procure food for themselves by labour and sweat, but seize on that of others in their iniquity ; and, although wearing an aspect of simplicity, are on the watch to plunder others" (10). This is a vivid portrait of the exploiter of other men's labour. In 19, 5, the writer goes beyond the traditional command when he says : "Thou shalt love thy neighbour above thine own soul."

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS, an anonymous work, springing out of the Church of Rome about A.D. 130, tells of visions, commandments and similitudes, given to Hermas by a woman representing the Church, and then by the Shepherd or Pastor. The writer deals very faithfully, if tenderly, with the rich. They are round stones which cannot be made square to fit into the Tower (*i.e.*, the Church) unless cut. Their riches, therefore, must be cut down. "Give to all. For God wishes His gifts to be shared amongst all. The afflicted who receive will not be condemned, but they who receive on false pretences will be punished. He who gives is guiltless" (Mandate 2). "All luxury is foolish and empty in the servants of God" (Mand. 12, 2).

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

“ Instead of lands, buy afflicted souls according as each one is able, and visit widows and orphans ” (Similitude 1). “ Fasting is of no value,” but if you do fast, give what you save by fasting “ to a widow or an orphan, or some person in want ” (Sim. 5). The rich man is like the vine, sprawling fruitless upon the ground, which becomes very fruitful when raised up by the elm, which stands for the poor, praying for the rich benefactor and lifting him towards God (Sim. 2). The third mountain (Sim. 9), all thorns and thistles, represents the rich and much immersed in business. The ninth mountain, a waterless desert, occupied by serpents, stands for stained *diakonoi* (deacons, ministers, servants) “ who plundered widows and orphans of their livelihood, and gained possessions for themselves from the office they had received.” The seventh mountain, cheerful and fruitful, the glad home of birds and beasts, symbolizes “ the simple and harmless, always having pity on every man, and giving aid from their own labour to every man without reproach and without hesitation.” The tenth mountain, full of shady trees under which cattle rested and browsed, means the bishops given to hospitality (Sim. 9). The twelfth mountain, white as snow, means the childlike. “ All infants are honourable before God and are the first persons with Him.” The same mountain symbolizes the innocent rich. “ When the Lord saw the mind of these persons, that they were born good and could be good, He ordered

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

their riches to be cut down, not to be taken away for ever, that they might be able to do some good with what was left them."

On Marriage (Mand. 4) the Shepherd says a man who unknowing lives with an unfaithful wife is guiltless ; but if he knows, he is partner in her guilt. Knowing he should put her away, without marrying another, for that would be adultery ; but if the unfaithful wife repent and return to him, he shall take her back. " But not frequently. For there is but one repentance to the servants of God. . . . In this matter man and woman are to be treated exactly in the same way."

Of Manners in Society, the tenth Mandate is " Put on cheerfulness, which is always agreeable and acceptable to God, and rejoice in it. For every cheerful man does what is good and minds what is good and despises grief. The sorrowful man always does wrong, because he grieves the Holy Spirit which was given to man cheerful. And all shall live to God who cast away from them grief and put on all cheerfulness."

JUSTIN MARTYR writing about 150, in his Apology addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, describes the new social order which the Christian religion introduced. " When you hear that we are looking for a Kingdom, you suppose, without making any inquiry, that we speak of a human Kingdom : whereas we speak of that which is with God." The Kingdom is now evidently wholly " yonside," not

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

here. Yet he dwells on its effect on earth. "We who formerly delighted in fornication, now embrace chastity alone. We who valued above all things acquisitions and possessions, now bring what we have to a common stock and communicate to every one in need" (c. 14). He boasts that he can produce from every race of men, disciples of Christ from childhood who have remained pure up to the age of sixty or seventy years (c. 15).

In sharp contrast, he shows the social order of the world. He reveals the slight regard for infant life. The exposure of newly-born children was a common practice, and "almost all so exposed (not only the girls, but also the males) are brought up to prostitution." And, addressing the Emperor, he says, "you receive the hire of these and duty and taxes from them whom you ought to exterminate from your realm" (c. 27). "But whether we marry, it is only that we may bring up children, or whether we decline marriage, we live continently" (c. 29).

The philanthropy and the social unity of the Christians are attested (c. 67). "The wealthy among us help the needy, and we always keep together." On the Lord's Day "they who are well-to-do and willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected is deposited with the President who succours the orphans and the widows and those who from sickness or from any other cause are in

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

want, and those who are in bonds and the strangers sojourning among us."

TATIAN, writing about 152 to 165, denounces pugilism and gladiatorial shows.

HEGESIPPUS, writing about 150 to 180, tells how that grandsons of Judas the brother of Jesus were summoned before Domitian (Emperor 81-96) and stated that they possessed only 39 acres of land, worth nine thousand denarii, which they tilled themselves, showing the callosities on their hands in proof of their manual labour. Asked about the Kingdom of Christ, they answered that it was not of this world, nor of the earth, but belonged to the sphere of Heaven and the angels, and would make its appearance at the end of time, when He should come in glory and judge the living and the dead. So completely had the¹ Kingdom left the ground to lose itself in the sky ; and those in its royal line were no more than industrious peasants. Dismissed as too mean for notice, they became leaders in the Church and lived till the time of Trajan (A.D. 98).

IRENAEUS, who lived about 133 to 203, writing about 180 ("Against Heretics," v. 6), deals firmly with "the purely spiritual" people of his day. He says : "By the hands of the Father, Man and not merely a part of Man, was made in the likeness of God. Now the soul and the spirit are certainly part of the Man, but certainly not the Man" (who is) "body, soul and spirit." Paul

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

said, "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God" but that is "just as if he were to say, If ye live carelessly and frivolously as if you were only animal, MERE flesh and blood, ye cannot inherit the Kingdom of God" (v. 9). "As long as any one has the means of doing good to his neighbours and does not do so, he shall be reckoned a stranger to the love of the Lord" (Fragment 4). "The business of the Christian is nothing else than to be preparing for death" (Frag. 11).

Otherworldliness, in spite of the nobler view of Man as a whole, is laying stress now on death as the only passage to the Heavenly Kingdom.

DIONYSIUS, Bishop of Corinth (*flor.* 171), shows us (as quoted Eusebius, iv. 23) that brotherly help prevailed not merely within each church but stretched from church to church. He writes to Bishop Soter of Rome: "This practice has prevailed with you from the very beginning, to do good to all the brethren in varied ways, and to send contributions to many churches in every city."

With this generous brotherly help going out generation after generation, we cannot wonder at the powerful hold which the Church and Bishop of Rome had upon the whole Christian world. Eusebius tells us that the same help was continued by the Church of Rome up to the time of "the persecution in our day." Three centuries of beneficence were bound to tell.

The so-called Second Epistle of CLEMENT, written

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

about 166 to 174, reports (c. 12) "The Lord Himself being asked by one when His Kingdom would come, replied : When two shall be one, and that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female neither male nor female. You doing these things, the kingdom of My Father shall come."

Once the Christian idea of Marriage is fully and universally realised then the Kingdom has arrived.

THEOPHILUS to Autolycus, writing about 171 to 183, rebuts rumours to the contrary by saying : "With Christians dwells self-control, self-restraint is practised, monogamy is observed, chastity is guarded."

ATHENAGORAS, in his "Embassy" to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, written about 177, lays stress upon Christian non-resistance. "Among us you will find uneducated persons and artisans and old women, who when struck do not strike again ; when robbed they do not go to law ; they give to those who ask of them, and love their neighbours as themselves" (c. xi.).

On the sanctity of human life we have this trenchant utterance : "Who does not reckon among the things of greatest interest the contests of gladiators and wild beasts, especially those that are given by You"—a very straight stroke at his philosophic Majesty—"but we, deeming that to see a man put to death is much the same as killing him, have abjured such spectacles" (c. 35). Christians "regard the very embryo in the womb as a created

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

being, and therefore an object of God's care" and call abortion murder (c. 35).

On the purity of Christians : " On behalf of those to whom we apply the name of brothers and sisters, and other designation of relationship, we exercise the greatest care that their bodies should remain undefiled and uncorrupted : therefore the kiss or the salutation should be given with the greatest care, since if there be mixed with it the least defilement of thought, it excludes us from eternal life" (c. 32). " To us the procreation of children is the measure of our indulgence in appetite. . . . A person should either remain as he was born, or be content with one marriage, for a second marriage is only a specious adultery. He who deprives himself of his first wife, even though she be dead, is a cloaked adulterer, transgressing the hand of God, because in the beginning God made one man and one woman" (c. 33).

On this fundamental social question, CLEMENT of Alexandria (155-220) has much to say. " The virtue of man and woman is the same. Marriage is an equal yoke" (*Pædagogus* i. 4). " In that world the rewards of this social and holy life based upon conjugal union are laid up, not for male or female, but for Man, the sexual desire which divided humanity being removed." " Husband and wife must come together only for the procreation of children" (ii. 10). " I would counsel the married never to kiss their wives in the presence of their

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

domestics" (iii. 12). The "holy kiss" is thus guarded by Clement, "Love is not tested by a kiss, but by kindly feeling. But there are those who do nothing but make the Churches resound with a kiss, not having love within itself. For this very thing, the shameless use of the kiss which ought to be mystic, occasions foul suspicions and evil reports. When the Kingdom is worthily tasted, we dispense the affection of the soul by a chaste and closed mouth, by which chiefly gentle manners are expressed. But there is another, an unholy kiss, full of poison, counterfeiting sanctity" (iii. 11).

"The simple life" evidently appeals strongly to Clement, including total abstinence. "I admire those who have adopted an austere life, who are fond of water, the medicine of temperance, and flee as far as possible from wine, shunning it as they would the danger of fire" (ii. 2). "In food and clothes and vessels and everything else belonging to the house, one must follow the institutions of the Christian man, as is serviceable to one's person, age, pursuits, time of life. For it becomes those that are servants of One God that their possessions and furniture should exhibit the tokens of one beautiful life. . . . The best riches is poverty of desires, and the true magnanimity is not to be proud of wealth, but to despise it" (ii. 3).

'Directions for those who live together' certainly belong to social teaching. Clement says: "Let us keep away from gibing, originator of insult, from

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

which strifes and enmities break forth. . . . In a word, the Christian is characterized by composure, tranquillity, calmness and peace" (ii. 7). In sleeping we are warned to avoid elaborate couches, and carvings that harbour creeping things; to keep awake as long as possible, and only sleep as long as is conducive to health (ii. 9). Clothes should be white and simple, of men and women alike, except that women's clothes should be softer (iii. 11): they should wear shoes; men should go barefoot (ii. 11). Clement is, of course, thinking of life in the Egyptian climate. Excessive fondness for jewels and gold ornaments is deprecated. A Christian woman should adopt simplicity. "Let not their ears be pierced" (ii. 12). "Cosmetics and dyes indicate that the soul is deeply diseased: love of dainties and love of wine, though great vices, are not of such magnitude as fondness for finery." Mirrors are decried (iii. 2). Clement speaks strongly against men combing their hair, shaving, plucking out hairs: "it is impious to desecrate the symbol of manhood which is hairiness." A luxurious niceness coerces nature and leads to effeminacy and worse (iii. 3).

On Amusements, Clement says: "The game of dice is to be prohibited, and the pursuit of gain especially by dicing." He would forbid spectacles and plays that are full of scurrility and of abundant gossip (iii. 11).

Wealth is like a serpent coiling us round. We must cultivate Frugality, Self-help and Simplicity

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

(Pæd. iii. 7). “The true Gnostic”—or as we should say the genuine Christian—“impoverishes himself in order that he may never overlook a brother who is brought into affliction, through the perfection that is in his love, especially if he know that he will bear want himself more easily than his brother. He considers the other’s pain his own grief” (Stromata, vii. 12).

Clement’s sermon on the Salvation of the Rich Man interprets the demand “sell all that thou hast” to mean “surrender the passions of the soul.” It is no great or desirable thing to be destitute of wealth. Otherwise “the poor dispersed on the streets, simply on account of their extreme want, would be most blessed and dear to God.” The frequent commands to give to every one that asketh would be nonsense if the rich man parted with all he had. The right sort of rich man is “he who holds possessions and gold and silver and houses as the gifts of God ; and ministers from them to the God who gives them for the salvation of man ; and knows that he possesses them more for the sake of his brethren than for his own, and is superior to the possession of them, not the slave of the things he possesses, and does not carry them about in his soul, nor bind and circumscribe his life within them, but is ever labouring at some good or Divine work. This is he who is blessed by the Lord and called ‘poor in spirit ’ . . . not one who could not live rich.” “Certainly Christ does not debar me from

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

property. But do you see yourself overcome and overthrown by it? Leave it, throw it away, hate, renounce, flee." "This saying is above all divinity—not to wait to be asked but to inquire oneself who deserves to receive kindness." "Collect for thyself an unarmed, an unwarlike, a bloodless, a passionless, a stainless host—pious old men, orphans dear to God, widows armed with meekness, men adorned with love. Obtain with thy money such guards for body and for soul."

These utterances of Clement bear witness to the invasion of the new society by the rich. The invasion is met by the demand that the rich have no luxuries, nor finery, nor luxurious niceness, but cultivate what we call "the simple life," but also by the concession that the rich may keep his riches, if not a slave to them, that he may spend them not on luxury, but on the poor. There is a distinct endeavour to accommodate the stern teaching of Christ to the convenience of the rich: "Christ does not debar me from property;" "sell all thou hast and give" is taken to mean Renounce your passions!—a device possible to believers like Clement in the allegorical method of interpretation, but nonsense to us. The two currents, asceticism or flight from the world, and accommodation to the world, here flow side by side, which later form two very divergent streams.

TERTULLIAN, jurist in Rome, presbyter in Carthage, who lived about A.D. 160 to 240, reveals a sense of the power due to the increasing numbers of the

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

Christians. He reports that the Christians are everywhere. They "constitute all but the majority in every city" (*Ad Scapulam* 2). "The State is filled with Christians" in field, in citadel, in every rank (*Apol.* 1), in camp, market, senate, forum (*Apol.* 37). "Banded together as we are, ever ready to sacrifice our lives," they never did one single act of revenge ; "though if it were held right among us to repay evil by evil, a single night with a torch could achieve an ample vengeance" (*Apol.* 37). This power, of so many "banded together," could inflict fearful injury on the empire, by simple withdrawal. "For if such multitudes of men were to break away from you and betake themselves to some remote corner of the world, the very loss of so many citizens would cover the empire with shame ; would punish by the very forsaking : you would be horror-struck at the solitude . . . at such an all-prevailing silence, and that stupor as a dead world" (*Apol.* 37).

Ominous words these ; the first suggestion in Christian literature of wholesale withdrawal, strike or boycott : possibilities not, doubtless, absent from the political mind of Rome ; and though now disavowed, yet to appear in the next century in the widespread "flight from the world."

Even now Tertullian has to meet the charge against Christians of being "useless in the affairs of life" (*infructuosi in negotiis*). His indignant protest reads strangely in the light of the later exodus of monks and nuns : "We are not Indian Brahmans

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

or Gymnosopists, who dwell in woods and exile themselves from ordinary human life. We sojourn with you in the world, abjuring neither forum nor shambles, nor bath nor booth nor workshop nor inn nor weekly market nor any other place of commerce. We sail with you, we fight with you and till the ground with you" (Apol. 42). Christians were bound to pray for the Roman Empire (Scap. 1), for the "very end of all things, threatening dreadful woes, is only retarded by the continued existence of the Roman Empire" (Apol. 32). Yet with a curious inconsistency, he inveighs (On Prayer) against those who pray for the protraction of the age. "Our wish is that our reign may be hastened, not our servitude protracted. Nay, Thy Kingdom come with all speed!" And he admits that Christians shrink from public life. "As those in whom all ardour in the pursuit of glory and honour is dead, we have no pressing inducement to take part in your public meetings; nor is there aught more entirely foreign to us than affairs of State. We acknowledge one all-embracing commonwealth—the world (*Unam omnium rempublicam agnoscimus, Mundum*)" (Apol. 38).

Is this the Stoic Cosmopolity or World-State, which did not, however, keep the Stoics out of public life? Or is it an abstract conception of the Kingdom of God?—a whole without parts? Or is it the Universal Church?

While admitting that some Christians are soldiers,

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

Tertullian says that in Jesus' word to Peter, "Put up thy sword," "He unbelted every soldier" (*de Idol.* 19). He absolutely forbids marriage between Christians and non-Christians (*Ad Uxorem*, ii.). And he frankly declares (*de Cult. fem.* ii. 9) : "We are trained by the Lord, as it were, to castigate and castrate the world (*tanquam castigando et castrando seculo*)."¹ He accepts the appellation for the Christians : The Third Race (*Ad nationes*, i. 8).

For this negative attitude excuse may be found in the corrupt state of society, of which lurid pictures are drawn. We are told of the indecent dress, the drunkenness, the unfaithfulness of the women. They long for divorce "as though it were the natural fruit of marriage" (*Apol.* 6). "In the temples adulteries are arranged" (*Apol.* 15). The Spectacles (theatres) offer infamous sights. He mentions (*Apol.* 9) "those who at the gladiatorial shows, for the cure of epilepsy, quaff with greedy thirst the blood of the criminal in the arena. The entrails of bears, loaded with as yet undigested human viscera, are in great request." "We have seen sometimes Attis castrated, and a man burnt alive as Hercules" (*Apol.* 15). Though "our numbers are great, constituting all but the majority in every city, yet we are known rather as individuals than as an organized community" (*Scap.* 2). So Tertullian gives a picture of this organized community :

"We are a body knit together by a common

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

religious profession, by unity of discipline and by the bond of a common hope. We have our treasure chest. On the monthly collection day, if he likes, each one puts in a small donation, but only if it be his pleasure and only if he is able : there is no compulsion : all is voluntary. These gifts are piety's deposit fund, to support and bury poor people, to supply the wants of boys and girls destitute of means and parents, and of old persons now confined to the house : such, too, as have suffered shipwreck, and if there be any in the mines, or banished to the islands, or shut up in the prisons " for fidelity to faith. " It is mainly the deeds of a love so noble that lead many to put a brand upon us. See, they say, how they love one another . . . how they are ready even to die for one another " (Apol. 39). " Our compassion spends more in the streets than yours does in the temples " (Apol. 42). " And they are wroth with us because we call each other brethren. . . . But we are your brethren, as well, by the law of our common Mother Nature. At the same time, how much more fittingly they are called brothers who have been led to the knowledge of God as their common Father. . . . One in mind and soul, we do not hesitate to share our earthly goods with one another. All things are common among us but our wives " (Apol. 39). The Love Feast is next described : " The participants before reclining taste first of prayer to God. As much is eaten as satisfies the cravings of hunger ; as much is drunk as befits the chaste. . . . After manual ablution, and the bringing in of lights, each is asked to stand forth and sing, as he can, a hymn to God, either one from

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

Holy Scripture, or one of his own composing—a proof of the measure of drinking (*hinc probatur quomodo biberit*, i.e., a sure proof that the drunken excess charged against Christians did not exist). Prayer closes the feast" (Apol. 39).

Occupations that made or ministered to idols must be renounced. None so renouncing should fear starvation. "Faith fears not famine" (Idol. 12).

The absolute purity of the Christians is extolled : "Modesty, the flower of manner, the honour of our bodies, the grace of the sexes, the integrity of the blood, the guarantee of our race, the basis of sanctity, the pre-indication of every good disposition : rare though it be and not easily perfected" (Pud. i.). "In condemning a Christian woman to the procurer, rather than to the lions, you admitted that a taint on our purity is considered among us something more terrible than any punishment or any death" (Apol. 50). (So the old foul social order was rebuked and condemned.) Second marriages are sternly forbidden (Ad Uxorem i.). Writing "On Women's Dress," he denounces dyeing the hair saffron to look like German or Gaul : the dye ruins the hair too ! Cosmetics are a sin against God. Not crudity or wildness or squalor or slovenliness of appearance, is desired, but the just measure of cultivation of the person. A husband's love does not need adornments : "No wife is ugly to her own husband."

Are the Sayings of Jesus to be taken literally ? Tertullian says : "The declarations of the Lord

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

have reasons and laws of their own. They are not of unlimited or universal application. He commands us to ‘ Give to every one that asks,’ but Himself does not give a sign to those that ask it.” Otherwise are we to give wine to fever patient, poison or sword to the would-be suicide ? (Fuga Persec. 13).

“ Against Marcion ” and his “ purely spiritual ” view of the Christian faith, Tertullian (iv. 37) declares : “ Salvation is appointed for the whole Man”—body and soul ; Christ “ followed the Creator in promising the salvation of the whole man.” On giving Caesar’s to Caesar and God’s to God, “ That which He commands to be rendered unto God is Man who has been stamped with His image, likeness, name and substance ” (Marc. iv. 38).

So of Liberty, Religious Liberty, as the necessary atmosphere of the true society—Tertullian is a champion : “ It is a fundamental human right, a privilege of Nature that every man should worship according to his own convictions. It is assuredly no part of religion to compel religion—to which free will and not force should lead us ” (Scap. 2).

In the Christian evolution of Society, Tertullian describes a stage at which a glorious, though alas ! unfulfilled possibility begins to dawn upon the modern mind. The multiplication of Christians throughout the Roman Empire, their high, unbending morality, their self-control and mastery of the strongest passions, the sanctity of their home life, their mutual devotion, their closely-knit organization,

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

portray a social power of the first magnitude, which properly applied might have led to the general elevation of the civic, industrial and economic life of the Empire. The salt was good : why was it not rubbed into every part of the social structure ? The leaven was strong : why was it not brought into assimilative contact with the social institutions of the time ? Tertullian was the first great writer to make the Latin language the vehicle of Christian ideas. Might he not have made Roman institutions also speak out their implicit Christianity ? If the human mind is in his great phrase "naturally Christian," how much more might the social expressions of that human mind, in overcoming to some extent its selfish instincts, be described as implicitly Christian. Might he not have shown the underlying and providential purpose in the wide ramifications of Roman justice, law, administration, commerce and communications ?

ORIGEN, who lived about 185 to 254, spending two-thirds of his life in Alexandria, and the last third in Palestine and Asia Minor, offers in his great work "Against Celsus," as best evidence of Christianity the social creations of Jesus Christ : "the whole habitable world contains evidence of the works of Jesus in the existence of those Churches" (i. 67). "It is impossible to see any race of men which has escaped accepting the teaching of Jesus" (ii. 13). Origen grants to Celsus that the Gospel does invite the silly, ignorant, mean and stupid,

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

with women and children, but adds that “ it invites others very different from these, since Christ is the Saviour of all men.” Celsus asks, “ Why is it an evil to have been educated ? ” Origen replies, “ It is no evil, . . . for education is the way to virtue. We do desire to instruct all men in the word of God . . . and to show to slaves how they may recover freedom of thought. We train to habits of self-restraint boys just reaching the age of puberty ” (iii. 49, 56). This is education certainly, but primarily moral and religious.

The old reproach recurs, of Christians abstaining from public service. Celsus says they should fight for the Emperor. Origen replies that they form a special army—an army of piety—by offering prayers to God on behalf of those who are fighting in a righteous cause and for the King who reigns righteously ; and as certain heathen priests are by virtue of their office exempt from shedding blood, so should be the Christian (viii. 73). When Celsus urges Christians to take office in the government of the country, Origen answers, “ We recognize in each State the existence of another National Organization, founded by the word of God ; and we exhort those who are mighty in the word and blameless to rule over our Churches.

“ If those who govern in the Church and are called rulers of the Divine Nation that is the Church, rule well, they never suffer themselves to be led astray by worldly policy. It is not for the sake of escaping public duties that Christians decline public

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

office, but that they may reserve themselves for a Diviner and more necessary service in the Church of God—for the salvation of men ” (viii. 75).

Here, again, as with Tertullian, the apologist practically pleads guilty to the charge brought by the Roman patriot against the Christians.

Had Origen only striven as heroically to welcome and develop the social and particularly the civic life of the Roman Empire, as he strove to welcome and develop the truth contained in Hellenic philosophy, he might have done great things for the redemption of the Imperial organism.

The “CANONS OF HIPPOLYTUS” (about 250 to 300) are chiefly concerned with clergy and ceremonies. But a trace of the old physical ministry remains in c. 8 : “a claim to ordination on the ground of gifts of healing is to be admitted, if the facts are clear, and the healing is from God.” And as to war : “only under compulsion may a Christian be a soldier ” (c. 14).

CYPRIAN, Bishop of Carthage A.D. 248 to 258, writing on the “Dress of Virgins,” urges the wealthy virgins to use their wealth for the things of salvation for the poor and needy. “Lend your estate to God ; give food to Christ.” He is shocked to know that Christian virgins attend wedding parties which are marked by indecent words and deeds and lubricious incitements, including drunken carousals. His pictures of these bridal feasts show

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

what the Christian idea of marriage has delivered us from.

“ Mixed bathing ” at the public baths—apparently without any bathing dress—is forbidden by the horrified Cyprian to all Christian maidens.

His population-theory reads quaintly when viewed in the narrowness of his little Mediterranean world : “ Now, when the world is filled and the earth supplied, they who can receive the precept of continency, living after the manner of eunuchs, are made eunuchs unto the Kingdom.”

To Donatus (A.D. 246) he unveils what he calls the darkness of this hidden world : “ The roads blocked up by robbers, the seas beset with pirates, wars scattered all over the earth, with the bloody horror of camps. The whole world is wet with mutual blood : and murder which, in the case of an individual, is admitted to be a crime, is called a virtue when it is committed wholesale.”

“ The gilded torments of the rich ” are described, also to Donatus. They “ add forests to forests and, excluding the poor from their neighbourhood, stretch out their fields far and wide into space without any limits ; they possess immense heaps of silver and gold and mighty sums of money, either in built-up heaps or buried stores.” But these accumulations give them no peace. They are tortured by fear of robber and murderer and richer litigants. They sigh as they drink from jewelled goblet, and cannot sleep in their downy bed. “ Their possession

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

amounts to this only that they can keep others from possessing it."

In Ep. 61 Cyprian forbids an actor or trainer of actors to be admitted to communion in the Church. He must first give up his calling. "If poverty be his plea, let him come on the poor funds of the Church : if they are insufficient, he may transfer himself to us" (at Carthage). Men flinging up their job on conscientious grounds are to be supported out of the poor funds of the Church—a principle of far-reaching significance.

The care of the poor is steadily enforced. In Epistle 36, written from his hiding place during persecution, he tells his colleague to take diligent care of the widows, the sick, all the poor. Indigent strangers could be supplied from Cyprian's own portion. This care was not limited to his own diocese. When raids of robbers carried off into captivity a number of Christians in Numidia, in response to an appeal from the Bishop of Numidia Cyprian sent as a special contribution from the Church at Carthage the sum of 100,000 sesterces (about £1,000) for the liberation of the captives (Ep. 60).

"The unity of the Church" maintained in these acts of brotherly beneficence was set forth as an ecclesiastical dogma by Cyprian in his book on the subject. The unity of the Church was secured by the unity of the Episcopate based on the Lord's commission to Peter.

DIONYSIUS, Bishop of Alexandria 248-265,

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

gives a vivid contrast between the new social order and the old in his description of the plague in that city (Eus. H.E. vii. 22) :

“ The most of our brethren, by their exceeding great love and affection, not sparing themselves, and adhering to one another, were constantly superintending the sick, ministering to their wants without fear and without cessation, and healing them in Christ, have departed most sweetly with them. Many also who had healed and strengthened others, themselves died, transferring their death upon themselves. The best of our brethren have departed this life in this way. . . . Among the heathen it was the direct reverse. They both repelled those who began to be sick and avoided their dearest friends. They would cast them out on the roads half dead, or throw them out when dead without burial.”

CORNELIUS, Bishop of Rome, in a letter of about A.D. 250 gives some idea of the extent to which charity and organization had advanced in that Church. He says “ there were 46 presbyters, 7 deacons, 7 sub-deacons, 42 acoluthi ; exorcists, readers and janitors in all 52 ; widows with the afflicted and needy more than 1,500.” He mentions also “ those that by the Providence of God were wealthy and opulent ” and “ the innumerable multitude of the people ” (Eus. H.E. vi. 43).

PAUL of Samosata, sat upon by Councils A.D. 264 to 269, is reported by them as having with him “ subintroduced sisters.” “ Nor are we ignorant

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

how many, by the introduction of such females have fallen or have incurred suspicion. . . . After having already dismissed one, he retains two others, blooming in age and eminent for beauty, and takes them with him wherever he goes." Yet this heresy-hunting council has to say, "Should any one even grant that nothing disgraceful has been done by him, yet it was a duty to avoid at least the suspicion" (Eus. H.E. vii. 30).

To avoid such scandals, the Council of Nicaea in its third canon disallows any female inmate "except a mother, a sister, an aunt or any other persons who are above suspicion" to live with a cleric.

So slowly and painfully the freedom of friendship between man and woman gains its way in a filthy world, ay, even in the Church itself.

The Instructions of *COMMODIANUS*, who flourished A.D. 250, deal sternly with the Christian matron that wants to be as the ladies of the world. The matrons, he complains, stain their hair ; paint their eyelids black ; put rouge on their cheeks ; dance in their houses ; "instead of psalms, ye sing love-songs." "Show forth all your wealth in giving" (59, 60).

"Tainted wealth" he denounces in scathing terms : "Whence thou bestowest, another is daily weeping. If thou hast lent on usury, taking 24 per cent., thou wishest to bestow charity that thou mayest purge thyself as being evil, with that which is evil. Thou givest (that which has been wrung) from tears.

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

Besides, having obtained an opportunity for the exactors, thy enemy for the present is the people" (65). (There is quite a modern ring about this threat.)

EUSEBIUS, bishop and historian, writing of Diocletian's persecution, says that a town in Phrygia was burned by the soldiery with its entire population "because all the inhabitants of this town, even the very governor and magistrate, with all the men of rank and the whole people confessed themselves Christians" (Eus. H.E. viii. 11). What would we not give to know something about the life and conduct of this wholly Christian town?

Amid the terrors of the persecution, Christian chastity proved itself more than conqueror. Eusebius (H.E. viii. 12) tells of the heroism of a lady at Antioch and her two daughters in the bloom of life "caught in the toils of the soldiery, knowing what dreadful outrages they would suffer from the men." The mother put before her daughters "the threatened violation of their chastity, an evil to be dreaded more than any other," and urged there was but one way of release—"to escape to the Lord." So they flung themselves into the flowing river and were drowned. Under the foul sway of the licentious Maxentius (Eus. H.E. viii. 14), "some of the women, when forced away, yielded up their lives rather than submit to the violation of their bodies." There was the case of the Christian wife of the Prefect of Rome. Her husband "through fear" had bidden the guards

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

carry her off to Maxentius. She asked for a short time for arraying herself in her usual dress and entered her chamber. There, being left alone, she sheathed a sword in her own breast and expired immediately. "So she proclaimed to all who are now and will be hereafter, that the chastity for which Christians are famed is the only invincible and indestructible thing."

So in the last great persecution is established for all time the Christian idea of the sanctity of womanhood : deliberate suicide—in itself a frightful crime—is approved and honoured when the only alternative is involuntary submission to violation. So is shown, what is bound up in the Christian idea of the wedded pair as one life, that adultery is twofold murder. Breach of the marriage tie, whether the tie be actual or only potential, is murder to a higher degree, to avoid which simple murder is not only allowable but honourable, an "escape to the Lord."

LACTANTIUS (who was a tutor of Crispus, Constantine's son, and died A.D. 340) sounds in "the Divine Institute" a clear note of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

"Nor is there any other cause why we mutually bestow on each other the name of brethren, except that we believe ourselves to be equal. Though in lowliness of mind we are on an equality, the free with the slaves, the rich with the poor, nevertheless in the sight of God we are distinguished by virtue" (v. 16). "If you wish to defend religion by bloodshed and

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

torture and guilt, it will no longer be defended but polluted and destroyed. For nothing is so much a matter of freewill as religion. Defend religion by patient endurance or by death" (v. 20). "We do not require that any one should be compelled to worship our God, nor are we angry if any one does not worship Him" (v. 21).

The first phase of Justice is to be united with God, the second with man. The former is called Religion ; the second is named "Humanitas." God made the animals by natural defences free from attack, but made man naked and defenceless, that He might furnish him with wisdom, and He gave him this feeling of kindness (*hunc pietatis affectum*) ; so that man should protect, love and cherish man, and both receive and afford assistance against all dangers. Therefore kindness is the greatest bond of human society. Whoso breaks it is impious and a parricide. On account of this relation of brotherhood, God teaches us never to do evil but always good ; and He prescribes in what this doing good consists, in affording aid to those who are oppressed and in difficulty, and in bestowing food on those who are destitute. For God, since He is kind, wished us to be a social animal (vi. 10). "What else is this preservation of humanity but loving a man because he is a man and the same with ourselves ? Therefore discord and dissension are not in accord with the nature of man" (vi. 11).

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

Hospitality is a principal virtue. “ Protect and defend orphans and widows in need”—especially those of martyrs. Also undertake the care and support of the sick who need. “ The last and greatest office of piety is the burying of strangers and of the poor ; which subject those (heathen) teachers of virtue and justice did not touch at all. For they were unable to see this who measured all their duties by utility ” (vi. 12). But no one attending thespectacles, or gladiatorial shows, or the stage, or the mimes, should be admitted to communion, as they minister to blood-lust and worse lust (vi. 20). “ The poor and humble who are unencumbered, more readily believe God than the rich who are entangled with many hindrances ” (vii. 1).

On the Deaths of the Persecuting Emperors, Lactantius draws a gloomy picture of the Empire. Diocletian’s dividing the empire into four, multiplied armies ; there began to be fewer men who paid taxes than they were who received wages ; the means of the husbandmen were exhausted by enormous impositions ; farms were abandoned ; cultivated grounds became woodland ; and universal dismay prevailed. The Provinces were divided into minute fractions, and many presidents and officers lay heavy on every territory and almost on each city. Condemnations daily and forfeitures frequently were inflicted ; there were taxes on innumerable commodeities, and those not only often repeated but perpetual, and in exacting them, intolerable wrongs.

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

Of all the writers passed under review, Lactanius comes nearest to laying down the outline of a basis of Christian Sociology, rooted in the nature of God and of man. He sees that man is essential to man, for defence and survival, and on this mutual dependence and mutual regard humanity rests. He has the vision of society as essentially brotherhood, which should be held together by mutual supply of needs. The spirit conformable to this constitution of society is kindness and love ; hatred is against nature.

With this sense of the fundamentals, he has an eye for the actual : as in his picture of the economic decay of the empire : the crushing taxation caused by increased armaments and multiplied officialdom. More men of his type would have made Christian history very much more Christian.

THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS (attributed by some to mid-third century; by Harnack to 340 to 360) may come into the present period. The tendency to magnify the bishop which began with Ignatius, is here very marked.

Against "tainted wealth" fierce invective is used. The bishop (iv. 6) is to refuse such gifts. But (iv. 10) "if at any time you be forced unwillingly to receive money from the ungodly, lay it out on wood and coal" ; not on food for widows and orphans. "It is reasonable that such gifts should be fuel for the fire, not food for the pious."

Holidays to be observed are (v. 13) the Birthday, the 25th day of ninth month, Epiphany (sixth of

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

tenth month), the fast of Lent before the feast of the passover, etc. "Let the slaves work FIVE DAYS ; on the Sabbath day and on the Lord's let them have leisure to go to church for instruction in piety. Let slaves rest from their work all the Great Week" (*i.e.*, Holy Week) and on Ascension Day, at Pentecost, at the Birthday and at Epiphany, and let them rest on the Days of the Apostles (viii. 33).

THE LAWS OF CONSTANTINE reveal the influence of the new faith in several ways. They grant universal toleration, restore to the Churches their confiscated property, recognize their rulers as a body corporate. Their grant of immunity to the Catholic clergy from all burdens of the State had a strange result. There was a rush into holy orders in order to escape taxation ! So a further law was enacted precluding any person with wealth sufficient to meet the burden of the State from becoming a clergyman ; only those were to be ordained who were of slender fortune and not bound to perform civil duties. "The rich ought to bear the burdens of the world, the poor to be supported by the wealth of the Church." The social consequences of this law are obvious. Another law was a much more tremendous instrument of social change : "Let any man have the power to leave on his deathbed any goods he pleases" to the Church. In time this made the Church the greatest landowner in Europe. The Apostle Paul's indignant suggestion to the Corinthians that disputes should be submitted to "one wise man" in the

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

Church rather than to the secular courts led Constantine to allow disputants to appeal from the ordinary courts to the bishops, whose decision was final as from the Emperor. So arose the ecclesiastical jurisdiction side by side with the civil—a fruitful source of abuses which cursed Europe. Sunday was made a legal holiday. The only process of law allowed on Sundays was the freeing of a slave in the Church in presence of the bishop. The position of slaves was improved, and their manumission encouraged. Laws were passed giving greater respect to women. Out of deference to the Christian exaltation of the unmarried estate, taxes on celibacy and childlessness were repealed.

Perhaps the most direct result of the new Christian influence was the severe vindication by law of the sanctity of sex. Adultery was a capital offence.* Concubinage was forbidden. Yet persons so living could by lawful marriage legitimize their offspring. Seduction of a virgin or widow was punished by death for the man, the woman, the attendants, parents, and any other accomplices—even if the woman was a consenting party : and molten lead was to be poured into “the mouth and throat which had been used to further the abominable intercourse.”

Parents unable to support a child and bringing it before the magistrate must at once be given the

* A most un-Christian exception stipulates that barmaids and tavern-keeping women are not expected to be chaste ; and charges of adultery made by them are to be dismissed.

PENETRATION OF THE EMPIRE

requisite food and clothes from the emperor's private treasury or from the public granary. "It is alien to our character," says Constantine, "to allow any one to perish of famine, or to be driven to commit so monstrous a crime" as selling children. So (says Chawner) was "the first Christian emperor the first to establish a regular system of relief to the poor." Gladiatorial games were forbidden in the East. Crucifixion was abolished as a form of punishment.

PERIOD IV

MONK AND BARBARIAN :

From Constantine to close of Western Empire,
A.D. 325-476

An Imperial Opportunity. An Empire Emasculated—by Christianity. A New Social Instrument for the New Need. St. Antony's Call. Monasticism Founded. Pachomius. Monks East and West. A "hunger for love." Whence the Initiative ? Martyr and Monk. Service rendered by Monks : Protestant Counterparts. Deeds of Healing. Origin of HOSPITALS. Ephraem, famine worker. Romance of Fabiola, Pammachus. The New Dynamic. Sanctity of Sex : Augustine and his Cast-off Mistress. Women as Mothers, as Friends of Men. Slaves and Captives. St. Ambrose. St. TELEMACHUS and Gladiatorial Sports. St. CHRYSOSTOM, the Social Prophet, his work in Antioch. NATION-BUILDING : ULFILAS and the Moesian Goths, his pacific State, his Founding of Teutonic Literature. St. MARTIN, " Founder of Catholic France." St. PATRICK, Father of the " Isle of Saints." Christian Emperors Disciplined. Christians as Persecutors. Byzantinism.

Social Teaching : St. AUGUSTINE's Tale of Two Cities.

IN 325 Social Christianity seemed to have reached a manifold triumph of dazzling brilliance. In the realm of religious thought, it had certainly secured for all time a conception of the interior life of the Godhead which was essentially social. In temporal affairs, it had witnessed the whole Roman world brought under the sway of a Christian Emperor.

Now, indeed, was presented to Christians a totally unprecedented opportunity. They were dis-

tributed, more than in the days of Tertullian, throughout the Empire. They held high office in the civil and in the military services. In every city of importance they were compacted in organized communities. Almost all of these communities were linked together in what was known as the Church Universal. This Church had proved itself stronger than the strongest of persecuting Emperors. And by the recent turn of events, they had at their disposal the Imperial authority, commanding the might of an unconquered army and an unlimited power of legislation.

Here, one might imagine, lay ready to hand the means of christianizing the social system as a whole and almost at a stroke. The entire area over which flew the mystic ensign of the Labarum, stretching from the Solway to the Tigris and from the Elbe to the upper reaches of the Nile, seemed waiting to be transformed into a civic embodiment of the Evangelic Kingdom of God.

That glorious possibility was never realized. One questions whether it was ever accepted as a serious programme by the mind of the Church. The Church, in fact, was not mentally ready for the task. Apart from general sermonic exhortations, do we find any serious endeavour on the part of our now Imperial Christians, to bring the systems of taxation, of land tenure, of industry, of municipal administration, ay, and of defence, into accord with the mind of Christ? Was there not much more prolonged

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

and sustained struggle of mind to apply the subtle distinctions of Greek philosophy to the service of the Creed, than to utilize the network of Roman administration for the christianizing of civic life? Did not the Church again and again withdraw some of the ablest administrators from public duties, to make them Bishops? Were these not only instances of a general tendency to absorb for the limited circle of the Church, energies and abilities which were meant for the civilization of mankind? It may be granted that the task suggested was beyond the power of Christians to accomplish, in an Empire of which they still formed a small minority, in a society still essentially Pagan. But if beyond the executive power, it need not have been beyond the thinking power and the constructive purpose of the Imperial Church. The influence of Augustine's "City of God" on later generations shows what might have been accomplished for humanity by an equally elaborate picture of the world organized in all its component occupations and interests as a Christian community.

Possibly the corruption of the civic fibre of the ancient State had gone so far that "the salt of the earth," however sedulously applied, would not have arrested the process of decay. Militarism and officialdom had done their deadly work. Extremes of poverty and extremes of wealth grew side by side. The population in large towns, without land and without work, were fed by "donatives," and, with

public games as their only interest, grew more and more frivolous. And the defence of this decadent empire was entrusted to an army largely recruited from the very Barbarians that in ominous masses hung around the frontiers.

The apex of this inverted pyramid, on whom all government reposed, was an autocratic emperor. The noble system of law, which was being slowly crystallized under Stoic guidance, could at any moment be set aside by the imperial will.

This autocracy, once it made a Christian confession, was accepted with rapture by the Church. There was not a whisper anywhere of an attempt to realize politically the Christian ideals of equality and fraternity, to say nothing of liberty. Constantine was hailed as "equal to an Apostle." He held sway by Divine appointment. The flagrant injustice of arbitrary absolutism as a system, was adopted by the Christians and without a murmur.

At last the storm burst. A quarter of a century after the Council of Nicaea, the tide of Gothic invasion began to pour over the frontiers of the doomed Empire. It swept along with much devastation, enslavement, plunder : turning cultivated regions into wilderness, and submerging under its virile sway the effete civilization. Yet the invaders regarded themselves as no more than authors of another military revolution within the Empire, and worked as far as they could under the forms and along the channels of the old system. And their

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

fierceness was tempered by the fact that though not Catholic Christians, they were still Christians. Arianism was milder than heathenism. But the stupendous change was signalized to the world, as by earthquake shock, when, seventy-three years after the death of Constantine, the Eternal City fell before the arms of Alaric the Goth. For more than half a century longer, the conquering Barbarians governed through puppet emperors. In 476 the sham was abandoned, and the Empire of the West came to an end. The lands where authority had spoken in the Latin tongue were left to be ruled or ravaged with varying degrees of ferocity by the invading tribes. From the sole sovereignty of the Christian Constantine to the deposition of the last Romulus, only a century and a half had elapsed. But what a changed world ! The problem presented by events to the Christian spirit was at the beginning of the period, How to christianize the ancient civilization ? It rapidly became, How to reduce to Christian order the new barbaric chaos ?

A new social instrument, which met this need, was being shaped, all unaware of its great destiny.

Some time about 270, a young man twenty years of age, of much wealth and no education, was attending service in his village of Koma, in Upper Egypt.

One day a righteous idea entered his mind. He began to meditate within himself how the blessed Apostles forsook everything and followed after our Redeemer, and how others who walked in their

footsteps sold everything they possessed and laid the money at the feet of the Apostles that it might be spent for the poor : and how great was the blessing of those who had in this wise obeyed the voice of our Redeemer. Now whilst he was meditating these and such like things . . . the Gospel was read, and he heard the words of the Lord who said unto the rich man, If thou wouldest be perfect, go, sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in Heaven ; and come follow Me. And the blessed Antony received the word of the Gospel as a sign unto himself, and he reflected that the reading had not taken place as a matter of chance, but in order that the righteous idea which had taken up its abode in him might be confirmed. And straightway he went out of the church and departed and set in order his house and the possessions which he had inherited from his parents. He had three hundred fields, a great estate, which produced abundant crops : and these he handed over to the people of his village so that they might trouble neither himself nor his sister : but the remainder of his other possessions which were in the house he sold and gathered in money not a little, which he distributed among the poor, but he laid by a sum sufficient for his sister's wants. And when on another first day of the week, he had again entered the church at the time of the reading of the Gospels, he inclined his ear carefully to see what word would come forth for him ; and as he was inclining his ear, the word of our Lord to His disciples was immediately read out, saying, Take no thought for the morrow.

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

He went out : distributed among the poor and with her full consent the sum intended to keep his sister. Her he placed with certain nuns.

All this he did "that he might be a pure offering unto God." "He used also to labour with his hands because he had heard the words 'If any will not work, neither let him eat.' With a very little of the work of his hands he provided himself with food : and the rest he spent upon the poor. He visited good men who appreciated him. Then he departed from the village and took up his abode in a tomb in the cemetery."

Afterwards he went into the desert, lived in a cleft in the rock of a serpent-ridden mountain. He gave himself up entirely to prayer and spiritual conflict. His fame spread far and wide.

"Monks in Egypt began to come to him in large numbers. He healed and taught and began to increase from that time with Christ in simple-mindedness, in love towards strangers, and in long-suffering." "When much people gathered to him, he determined to go away to the Thebaid. The brethren followed him there. He asked them to bring a little wheat and a hoe, and he found a little place suitable for cultivation and watering. He made a vegetable garden for them. He used to weave palm leaves, so that he might not be a burden upon any man and that he might make baskets to give as gifts to the people who were continually coming to visit him."

He laid in a stock of food for himself every six

months. He died 105 years old. He never allowed water to touch his body, and never except in dire necessity washed his feet. These facts are recorded in Athanasius' "Life of Antony." So he became "the inaugurator and first organizer of Christian Monachism."

These particulars are worth while giving, for they show clearly the genesis of monasticism. The prime motive is the desire for perfection, to obey completely the commands of Jesus, to obtain the blessedness of those who thus obey : or as Cassian puts it, "purity of heart so that the mind may rest fixed on God and Divine things." The stimulus is thus individual, not social. But as it is Christian perfection which is desired, the path to this goal is first Christian and then social. Antony, almost like a modern land-nationalizer, hands over his 300 fields to his own village. He distributes the proceeds of the rest of his estates to the poor. Then he consorts for many years with ascetics living in his village : when his life is still social. The next twenty years of solitude in the desert are exclusively along the lines of Christian individualism—"as though nought else existed" save God and him. But the number drawn to him, seeking by him to be taught the way of holiness, constrains him to abandon his solitary self-absorption and to re-enter social life—now as the head of a monastery.

So began the great experiment in social Christianity which every age has followed since.

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

Some ten years later (about 320) Pachomius founded his monastery at Tabenna in Upper Egypt. In his case, the motive was undoubtedly social. Palladius reports of him that he "was in an extraordinary degree a lover of mankind and a lover of the brotherhood. While he was sitting in his cave an angel appeared unto him, and said : 'Thou hast rightly ordered thy own life. . . . Go forth and bring together all the young monks and dwell with them and legislate for them.' "

Disgust with the world, revulsion from the corruptions of ancient society, mere negations of any kind, so often imputed as motives of a monastic life, were not in evidence. Still less were men driven to be monks by abstract philosophies. Most of the first monks were "comparatively ignorant men, members of the middle or lower classes." Mar Awgin, himself a pearl-fisher, the founder of Persian monasticism, was warned of God in a dream to seek for salvation in the monastery of Pachomius.

Nor did they long imagine the wilderness to be peopled only with hostile demons. Harnack beautifully remarks :

" Some discovered in solitude what they had never seen before—Nature. Into her they gradually grow : her beauty they search out and extol. From hermits of the fourth century we have pictures of Nature such as antiquity seldom produced. Like happy children they tried to live to God in His garden."

The communities founded by both Antony and Pachomius demanded work from their members. Antony's men wove baskets, to support themselves and give to the poor : but the main occupation was prayer, meditation, and Scripture study. The monastery of Pachomius presented the picture of "a busy, well-organized, self-supporting agricultural colony, in which the daily religious exercises only alternate with, and do not impede, the daily labour" (Dom Butler).

These Egyptian monks supplied the inspiration and the model of the entire monastic movement East and West. The East was more influenced by Antony and the meditative life ; the West by Pachomius and the practical life. Athanasius brought with him two Egyptian monks to Rome in 340, and so set Western monasticism in motion.

Basil the Great, of Caesarea, visited Egypt in his youth and became one of the chief promoters of the monastic life. He developed it along the lines of mutual, educational and philanthropic service. He argued that his monasteries must be social institutions.

"We feel," he said, "an exceeding hunger for love. We want brothers more than one hand wants the other. A life lived in common with others is most useful for many ends. The doctrine of the love of Christ does not permit each of us to regard his own things alone. A solitary life is plainly opposed to the law of charity."

His monks supported themselves by the labour of their hands.

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

The question must now be faced, How far, if at all, is this new social instrument due to the initiative of the Unseen Leader ?

Viewed in the light of the Gospel, there is much in monasticism that does not conform with the mind of Christ. The solitary life, as Basil showed, was quite alien to His spirit, except as an interlude in social service. The privations in diet and in other comforts savoured more of John the Baptist than of the Son of Man who came eating and drinking, and was actually called a toper and a glutton. The dread of keeping the body clean by washing found no place in Him who washed His disciples' feet and said of them that being bathed they needed only to wash their feet and were clean every whit. There is no Christian warrant for dirt ; nor is it an essential of the monastic life. The sense of "the world all devils o'er" was far from the vision of the Universal Father which shines through the Sermon on the Mount. The horror of woman, even of mother and sister, was quite unlike Jesus. The frequent wife-desertion enjoined deliberately put asunder what God had joined together. The renunciation of parentage may have robbed the race of its best blood : it lessened the number of children received with full heart in the name of Christ. Voluntary irrevocable celibacy was indeed recognized by Jesus as an exceptional thing, of limited application (Matt. xix. 11, 12).

The Poverty enjoined by Jesus was no semi-

starvation or nakedness : it carried with it, on the confession of the Apostles themselves, the lack of nothing (Luke xxii. 35). Even the monks felt it a relative requirement, varying from a severely restricted diet, in Upper Egypt, to a more generous diet, in colder Gaul. Writing off the extremes of privation, which were condemned by the authorities, and striking an average of monastic practice, we may say that the vow of poverty meant little more than the cult of "the simple life," and considering the compensations of country life, the freedom from the cares of private ownership, the advantages shared with the community in buildings, gardens, libraries and the like, we cannot pronounce the monks and nuns to have been very badly off. Obedience, absolute and permanent, leaves no room for the conscience to "obey God rather than man" : but within less rigid limits, it is an excellent means to unity and co-operation. Cast-iron and irreversible vows were not required in the first creative century of monasticism : Palladius, writing as late as 420, said it was better to practise the monastic life freely, without the constraint of a vow. Basil the Great is said to have first made vows binding for life.

When these exceptions and qualifications have been made, and the system has been given an elastic interpretation, there is nothing in the monastic life essentially opposed to the Will of Christ.

This negative conclusion passes over into a positive when we view the facts more closely. The two

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

strongest instincts in human nature are said to be the instinct of self-preservation, and the instinct of reproduction. The New Life which came into the world with Jesus showed its essentially supernatural power by triumphing over both imperious propensities. Proof of its conquest over the first was—the Martyr. Proof of its conquest over the second was—the Monk. This vast service Monasticism has rendered to the freedom of the Will, and to its power of control over the strongest and most vital impulses. And so signal a victory—not by one or two, but by hundreds and thousands—was a witness to Him who overcame the world.

Here is a more general estimate :

“ In Italy, Spain, Gaul, Germany, the British Isles, the whole history of the Church has been made by monks . . . Monasticism dominated the Middle Ages. The Ideal life was monastic . . . All that made for progress up to the dawn of the Renaissance came from the monasteries. Learning survived within their walls. Education was possible only in their schools. Agriculture was the art of the monks. They conquered the forests, ploughed fields, made barren wastes into fruitful farms. The monasteries were the refuge of the oppressed. In a world where mere force reigned otherwise undisputed, the voices of justice and right might still be heard within their walls. They were the only homes for the studious and gentle. . . . The monks fed the hungry and tended the sick. They gave back, again and again, the vital spark of spiritual religion to a Church that

from Pope to serf had sunk into formalism and vice." *

This witness makes evident by what agency the Barbarians were socialized and christianized. Did all these things happen without the design and direction of the Unseen Lord of Christendom?

A glance still further down the ages shows Protestant Churches setting apart persons and orders to at least temporary celibacy, to comparative poverty, and to organized action that involves obedience, though not of an abject kind. There are hospital nurses, Zenana missionaries, settlement workers, deaconesses, sisterhoods. And in these instances, renunciation for the Kingdom of God, of property, family life and public ambition, has been just as actual as in any Catholic monastery. Conditions are more elastic, but the result is much the same—in essence, if not in extent and in degree.

The unchallenged facts of history and the permanent need of Christendom make it more than difficult for any believer to deny that the monastic movement was due to the direct initiative of the ever active Christ.

To the mind of the youthful Antony, prepared by the entrance of the "righteous idea," He spoke in the words He addressed to the rich young man of old. It was one of the great instances of the way in which He uses the words of Scripture as the typist uses the

* "The Spirit and Origin of Monasticism," by James O. Hannay.

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

letters in her typewriter. The characters of the alphabet are ancient enough, dating from prehistoric times ; but the modern operator, by pressing them on the blank sheet, conveys to-day a message from living man to living man. So the ancient words of Scripture, heard or read, are often stamped upon the receptive and obedient mind by the Unseen Operator, who to that mind thus conveys His definite mandate.*

So another world-shaping movement revealed His creative initiative. However distorted, deflected and encumbered by human accretions, the Initial Push came from Him. The new social instrument was a gift of the Christ.

The physical ministry of the Gospel was greatly extended in this period. Many deeds of healing are reported of the founders of Monasticism in Egypt. St. Martin of Tours, who began his clerical life as an exorcist, is said to have healed a family seized with a malignant disease, to have given speech to a girl dumb from her birth, to have cured a leper by a kiss and a benediction, and on three occasions to have raised the dead to life.

But the chief glory of Social Christianity in this period was the founding of HOSPITALS. Clinics were from immemorial antiquity attached to the temples of heathen gods of healing. Visitors came

* This fact in no way sanctions the Pagan custom, condemned by the Church Councils, of using the Bible (as Virgil was used) as a means of divination—striking by chance with finger or pin on a passage supposed to give Divine guidance.

as out-patients and paid fees to the priests for treatment. Far away in India, Asoka founded hospitals in B.C. 260, one of which, at Surat, survives to this day. But in the Roman Empire the hospital was practically unknown until Christianity gave it birth. It was born under Constantine the Great. The Christian Empire and the Christian Hospital arose together. The Council of Nice (359) ordered that a home for strangers (*xenodochium*) should be opened in every city. A good proof of the Christian origin of these institutions is supplied by Julian, called the Apostate, in his letter to the high priest of Galatia :

“ Neither can we overlook that godlessness (his name for Christianity) increased chiefly by philanthropy towards strangers and care for the dead, and a feigned dignity . . . Stranger-homes (*xenodochia*) establish plentifully in every city in order that strangers may enjoy our philanthropy, not of our own party merely, but also of the rest, whoever may have need of money.”

And he goes on to enforce this duty of hospitality by quoting some lines from Homer. If *xenodochia* had been established before the Empire was Christian, Julian would almost inevitably have referred to them as founded under the auspices of the old gods. He implies there were many such Christian institutions, requiring many heathen ones to compete with them. Despite all efforts to belittle the originality of Christian charity, Lecky’s words, in his “ History of European Morals,” remain true :

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

“ There can be no question that neither in practice nor in theory, neither in the institutions founded, nor in the place that was assigned to it in the scale of duties, did Charity in antiquity occupy a position at all comparable to that which it has obtained by Christianity. Nearly all relief was a State measure, dictated more by policy than by benevolence. A very few Pagan examples of charity have indeed descended to us. . . . But the active, habitual and detailed charity of private persons, which is so conspicuous a feature in all Christian societies was hardly known in antiquity.”

The earliest hospital-founder whom I can trace is Gallicanus :

“ A man of consular rank who was raised to the insignia of triumph and was dear to Constantine Augustus. He was converted to the faith of Christ, and retreating with the holy Hilarius to Ostia Tyberina, gave himself entirely to hospitality and service of the sick. The fame of this having spread through the whole world, many came thither from all sides, and saw a man who had been Patrician and Consul washing the feet of the poor, laying the table, pouring water on their hands, carefully ministering to the feeble and performing the other services of piety. He was afterwards expelled thence under Julian the Apostate and set out to Alexandria. There when required by a Roman judge to sacrifice, he refused, and, pierced by a sword, he was made a martyr of Christ ” (*Baronius : Martyrologium Romanum*).

The suggestion is that of a permanent home or institution.

Eleusis, Bishop of Cyzicus, who was banished by Julius (361-363), is said by Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.* v. 15) to have provided widows' almshouses (*cherotropheia, aedes alendis viduis*) as well as nunneries.

The first large hospital of which we have record is that erected at the gates of the city of Caesarea, by Basil the Great in 370. He had to overcome much opposition, but succeeded at last in raising a large and commodious structure. Gregory of Nazianzus called it a New City : the Caesareans named it the Basiliad. It was intended to receive at every day and at every hour those who could not find elsewhere their consolation or subsistence. Particular provision was made for lepers. Dwellings were provided for all the staff required, medical men, carriers, workmen, and other attendants. Workshops were opened for all crafts, presumably to train the unskilled and supply work for the workless. A great church was added, with dwellings for the bishop and clergy. A monastery was also attached. The support of this immense establishment came from the lands which the Emperor gave to the Church at Caesarea.

Ephraem the Syrian, famous as commentator, poet and preacher, must be entered on the roll of founders. The city of Edessa was visited with a terrible famine ; and Ephraem, who lived as a hermit near by, in the utmost austerity, sallied forth to denounce the rich for letting the poor die of hunger. The rich replied

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

that they would part with their wealth to feed the poor, but there was no one whom they could trust as dispenser of their bounty. "Will I do?" asked the monk; and on their consenting to trust him with their money, he had fitted up in the public galleries or porticos about 300 beds. Here he tended those who were ill and suffering from the effects of the famine. Whether foreigners or natives, they were equally welcome. "On the cessation of the famine he returned to the cell in which he had formerly dwelt; and after the lapse of a few days he expired" (373)—worn out probably by his unwonted labours on behalf of the famine-smitten (*Sozomen, Hist. Eccles.* iii., 16).

With the founding of the first hospital in Rome is connected a romance of penitence and pity. Jerome relates it in a letter written some time after his stay in Rome (382–385). The precise date of the events described is not clear. The heroine of the romance is FABIOLA. She was of the bluest blood of Roman nobility, having sprung from the historic Fabian line. She was immensely wealthy. In her youth she was forced to marry a dissolute wretch. His gross infidelities led her to put him away. She married a second time. When her second husband died, the fact of her second marriage appeared to her, in the austere light of the then Christian standards, a most frightful sin. She took her place among the penitents before the church doors, in the squalid penitential garb, beat the face which had charmed

her second husband, and underwent the most rigorous demands of public penance. "Rome beheld, weeping." At last she was admitted to communion. Next the great fortune which was in her grasp she sold to be applied to the service of the poor. And "she was first of all * to establish a *nosocomium* (hospital for the sick). In this she collected the sick from the broadways and tended the limbs, worn with disease and want of food, of the wretched." The most loathsome diseases did not deter her. "She carried the sick on her own shoulders, and washed their purulent wounds ; with her own hands she prepared their food." Not content with ministering to the poor of Rome, she went out to the islands and seacoasts and gathered in the sick. The Calendar of the Church ought surely to commemorate the noble Fabiola as patron of Hospital Sunday.

Jerome also tells of a senator, Pammachius, noted for high rank, consular service and great wealth, who had given up all for Christ's sake, not in wild recklessness, but so as most to help the poor. He founded at the Port of Rome, at the mouth of the Tiber, a *xenodochium* or guest-house. His was a life of service to the poor. He walked with bare feet, wore a brown tunic, drew water, hewed wood, kindled the hearth ; and in all that he did for the

* Not possessing the exact date of this foundation, we cannot say whether Jerome's *prima omnium nosocomium instituit* means that this was the first hospital for the sick in Rome, or in the world.

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

sick and blind and lame, he was seconded, if not surpassed, by his two noble daughters.

The existence of a hospital for cripples in Egypt is attested in a story, given by Palladius in his Lausiac history (c. vi.), of Macarius, with whom he stayed (after 391). It is the story of a rich but stingy spinster from whom “the most holy Macarius, presbyter and superintendent of the poor-house (*ptocheion*), for the crippled” obtained 500 pounds.

Charitable institutions of various kinds sprang up in all parts of Christendom. Hospitals arose for children, for orphans, for the blind, for lying-in women. There were officers of the Church specially appointed to look after strangers (*xenodochi*). In Alexandria there were thousands of district visitors.

The opening of this splendid chapter in the story of social Christianity calls here for Lecky's noble tribute to what the Church has done in the sphere of charity :

“For the first time in the history of mankind, it has inspired many thousands of men and women, at the sacrifice of all worldly interests, and often under circumstances of extreme discomfort or danger, to devote their lives to the single object of assuaging the sufferings of humanity. It has covered the globe with countless institutions of mercy, absolutely unknown to the whole pagan world. It has indissolubly united in the minds of men, the idea of supreme goodness with that of active and constant benevolence.”

No one who knows anything of the founding of such institutions in our own day can be in doubt whence the initiative and settled purpose came. To quote Lecky again :

"Christianity . . . effected a complete revolution in this sphere by regarding the poor as special objects of the Christian Founder, and thus making the love of Christ rather than the love of man the principle of charity."

The sanctity of Sex was in this period stringently enforced. Its preservation was still regarded as of more value than life itself. St. Ambrose glorifies the heroism of a fifteen-year old girl who, when handed over to the soldiery, and allowed to retire to her room to robe herself, took the opportunity of flinging herself down from the roof to instant death : and the Church has canonized her as St. Pelagia. Lecky observes of Christian ethics, that if love was the chief demand of the first century, chastity was that of the fourth. But the virtue was to be observed negatively, in abstinence, not in exercise. The idea of "passion's golden purity"—that chastity is most perfectly realized in the felicity of wedded bliss—was quite alien to the time. Chrysostom did indeed say, "A true man and wife joined in sacred union, show a holier life than the inhabitants of many a monastery" (*Hom. i. in Rom. xvi. 3*). But the whole drift of ecclesiastical opinion was to exalt celibacy above wedlock, and to regard the latter as no more than a concession to animal passion and a

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

utilitarian device for continuing the species. This disparagement and, indeed, degradation of marriage was a terrible blow to the morals of Christendom—one of the very worst inflicted by nominal upon real Christianity. To this sad fact the Confessions of St. Augustine bear witness all the more conclusive because so entirely unconscious. His mother Monica did, it is true, abide faithful to the indissolubility of the marriage-tie, though her husband's profligate unfaithfulness made her life a long crucifixion. But even she showed a laxity of view that no decent Christian to-day would allow. St. Augustine had a mistress. She had borne him a son to whom he was tenderly attached. On the eve of his complete conversion he began to think of marriage. Obviously, if he married at all, his plain Christian duty was to marry the woman with whom he had lived as husband, and who was the mother of his son. But this idea, so inevitable to us, never seems to have crossed his mind or the mind of his saintly mother. She pressed on him another woman whom both thought most eligible. He says quite frankly (*Conf. vi. 15*) : “ My mistress being torn from my side as an impediment to my marriage, my heart which clave to her, was racked and wounded and bleeding. And she went back to Africa, making a vow unto Thee never to know another man, leaving with me my natural son by her. But I, unhappy one, procured another (not a wife, though).” And when the mental explosion came which decided him

for Christianity, it did not send him on his knees to his discarded mistress, to beg pardon for the wrongs he had committed or contemplated against her, and to ask her to become his lawful wife. No, it came with his interpretation of the words of Paul : "Put ye on the Lord Jesus, and make no provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." He accepted Christianity and celibacy with one bound of the soul. Marriage was to him simply "provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." Therefore he discarded marriage. He went jubilant to his mother : she rejoiced ; she leaped for joy ; she triumphed : "Thou didst turn her grief into a gladness much dearer and chaster than she used to crave by having grandchildren of my body." Yet she *had* a grandchild of his body. But there was apparently in neither mind a thought of the mother of that child, banished to Africa, and still vowing fidelity to him till death. His incredible baseness in flinging her off never seems to have emerged in his consciousness. He laments with abject contrition his sin in stealing pears as a boy, but utters never a word of remorse for the colossal turpitude he had committed in casting off the mother of his son. The conversion of St. Augustine was a great event for the Church and for humanity : sad that it should have been shadowed by this monstrous sin ! One wonders what the poor deserted woman in Africa would think of this "putting on the Lord Jesus."

"What women these Christians have!" ex-

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

claimed the heathen Libanius, when Anthusa introduced to him, for training in rhetoric, her son, hereafter to become famous as St. Chrysostom. Julian thought he could have made Antioch revert to heathenism but for the strenuous opposition of the Christian women.

This is the result of the Christian teaching of the equality of the sexes. Our last period was famous for Women as Martyrs. This period shows Women as great Mothers. Anthusa herself, Macrina, the grandmother of St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nyssa, and Monica, the mother of St. Augustine, shine out conspicuous as makers of men who in their turn were makers of history. What women did as founders of charitable institutions has already been mentioned. The surest proof of Christian influence in respect of woman is her standing as an honoured equal friend with man. Over against the horror of women which frequently disfigured the behaviour of ascetics may be set the close and intimate friendship with women which glorified the lives of St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom. The letters of St. Jerome reveal the beauty and warmth of affection which he cherished to a group of ladies in Rome. Paula and her daughters Blesilla and Eustochium were bosom friends as well as disciples. St. John Chrysostom, too, had his circle of devoted lady friends in Constantinople. Chief among them was Olympia, of high birth, charming beauty and great wealth. The long letters which passed between

them when he was in exile give voluminous proof of their mutual attachment. These friendships are landmarks in the upward course of civilization. The position of head in a nunnery gave many talented women a career to which the earlier generations of Christianity furnished no parallel. The abbess became a personage of no small importance.

Of Education we do not hear much in this period. Technical training was probably given in St. Basil's workshops at Cæsarea and in similar institutions elsewhere : and in the child-hospitals and orphanages there must have been some sort of instruction. For the higher courses, Christian pupils went to the heathen schools. But St. Martin of Tours made his monasteries training grounds for the clergy.

The problem of Slavery was not seriously tackled by the Church. The pervasive influence of a moral brotherhood within the Church helped to soften and undermine the hardships of the slave's lot. The Council of Elvira (305) excommunicated a mistress who had flogged her bond-maiden to death. And the performance of all manner of servile tasks by the holy monks helped to remove the servile taint from labour and to make it honourable. But the Church did nothing to check the passage of the free peasant into a serf. It did, however, nobly distinguish itself in preventing captives from becoming slaves. To ransom Romans from their barbarian captors, St. Ambrose of Milan sold the sacramental vessels of the Church. Deogratias, Bishop of

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

Carthage, similarly disposed of his consecrated plate to redeem captives from the Vandals. Still more nobly, Acasius, Bishop of Amida, turned 450 sacred vases of his diocese into money for the release of 7,000 Persian, and therefore unbelieving, prisoners, whom he restored unscathed to their king.

At a greater price Rome was delivered from the shame and horror of seeing men butchered for sport. Gladiatorial displays had long been condemned by the Fathers of the Church : they were in the East suppressed by the Laws of Constantine. But in the West the savage custom was continued. A great gladiatorial contest formed part of the—premature—rejoicing over the defeat of Alaric, who soon after entered Rome as conqueror. It was the last. All that we know of the heroic deed which ended the infamous amusement is contained in five sentences of Theodoret ; and as they describe one of the sublimest instances of personal sacrifice for the sake of social reform, every word of the laconic historian must be given here :

“ For Honorius who succeeded to the sovereignty of Europe put down the gladiatorial combats practised of old in Rome, on occasion of the following event. There was one Telemachus embracing the ascetic life. He having set out from the East and for this very purpose arrived at Rome, while that foul spectacle was being ordered, went in himself into the stadium and descending into the arena attempted to stop those who were using the weapons

against each other. The spectators of the foul murder, enraged, and seized with the Bacchic frenzy of the demon who delights in those sheddings of blood, stoned to death the magistrate of peace. On learning this, the admirable emperor counted him among the triumphant martyrs, and put a stop to that evil exhibition" (*Eccles. Hist.* v. 25).

Whence came the purpose that brought this monk from the East to Rome? Who can doubt as to his mandate? Tennyson has amplified the brief story into a noble poem, but the simple record of a deed "more high than all poetic thought" is surer witness of the Unseen Leader.

On many phases of the social question, economic and human, there were not wanting in this period utterances clear and bold. The memory of the early communism in Jerusalem appears and reappears. St. Ambrose declared: "Nature created everything for common use. If there are men excluded from the enjoyment of the products of the earth, it is contrary to Nature. The unequal division of this wealth is the result of egoism and violence. Nature is the mother of common right: usurpation is the mother of private right." Luxury came in for unsparing denunciation. The rich were warned of their poor estate in the sight of God. St. Basil bade them remember they were but stewards of the providence of God. St. Ambrose peremptorily forbade lending money on usury. During the long peace before Diocletian's persecution, the clergy were

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

unfortunately very keen in demanding interest on their loans. The seventeenth Canon of the Council of Nicæa decreed that any cleric exacting interest on loan "shall be deposed and have his name struck off the canon."

But of all the spokesmen of the Christian conscience in this period, none was more fearless and direct, more in touch with reality than John, whom later ages called St. CHRYSOSTOM. He was the chief prophet of social Christianity in his day. Basing his demands on the great words, "Let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow Me," he said, "It is not enough to despise wealth : we must maintain poor men, and above all things follow Christ : that is, do all things that are ordered, be ready for slaughter and death." In another discourse (on Mat. xviii. 23-28) he said :

"Come let us examine the race of workmen and artizans. For these above all seem to live by honest labour and the sweat of their own brow. But when they do not take heed to themselves . . . the dishonesty that arises from buying and selling they bring into the work of honest labour."

In modern words, the proletariat apes the profit-mongering vices of the bourgeoisie. But what could be more scathing than his indictment of the land-owning class ? He said :

"They that are possessed of lands and reap the wealth that springs from the earth—what can be more unjust than these ? For if any one were to

examine how they treat their wretched and toil-worn labourers, he will see them to be more cruel than savages. For upon them that are pining with hunger and toiling throughout all their life, they but impose constant and unbearable payments, and lay on them laborious burdens, and they treat their bodies like asses or mules, or rather like stones, allowing not so much as to draw breath a little while. And when the earth yields and when it does not yield, they alike wear them out and grant them no indulgence. Why should one speak of the merchandise which they make of them, the sordid gains which they gain by them, by their labours and by their sweat, filling winepresses and wine vats, but not suffering them to take home so much as a small measure, but draining off the entire fruits into the casks of their wickedness and flinging to them for this a little money ? And new kinds of usuries also do they devise, and not lawful, and this when he from whom it is exacted has a wife, is bringing up children, is a human being, and is filling their threshing floor and their winepress by his own toil."

Was ever the ruthless exploitation of labourer by capitalist more relentlessly exposed ? And this golden-mouthed orator, in the great cathedral of Antioch, dared to preach on " all things common " in this fashion :

" Supposing all here, men and women, to empty out their whole property, lands, possessions, houses,

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

perhaps 10,000 pounds of gold would be the amount collected : nay, twice or thrice as much."

He appealed to the amount at which the city was rated to confirm and exceed his estimate. He put the Christians at 100,000 and the poor at 50,000, and concluded that if all received in common, taking their meals together, much waste would be avoided: for "division always makes for diminution and agreement makes increase," and there would be abundance for all. "But what after the money was spent? Do you think it ever would be spent? Would not the grace of God be ten-thousandfold greater? Nay, should we not make it a Heaven upon earth? What heathen would be left? For my part I think there would not be one: we should so attract all and draw them to us." This great preacher looked to Christian economics rather than to Christian homiletics for the salvation of mankind.

This clear, strong voice was sent to Eastern Christendom to warn it from the decay which was creeping over it. He was the apostle of the Love of one's own City. He was a native of Antioch, and he exulted in its greatness. "Our city," he said, "is the head and mother of all the cities in the East." It was the second city in the Empire. He took a delight in its crowded streets—the inhabitants flitting about the market place like bees. He was proud of its great record, which even Rome could not equal. "The manners of this city have been of

a noble character from of old"—but above all "this is the city in which Christians first took their distinctive appellation." "Our city is excessively dear to Christ, both because of our ancestors and of your own virtue."

His civic teaching may be summed up in his own noble words :

"Let us show forth a new kind of life. Let us make earth Heaven. I say not, Do not marry. I say not, Forsake cities, and withdraw thyself from public affairs ; but being engaged in them show virtues. Such as are busy in the midst of cities, I would fain have more approved than such as have occupied the mountains. . . . I would that all the candles were set upon the candlestick that the light might wax great."

So at Antioch John proved himself a great Civic Christian. One of the noblest features in ancient Greek life was the devotion of the citizen to his city. City was to him State and Church, Society and Fatherland. In John this ancient Greek passion of civic patriotism is sublimed and glorified by translation into the Christian religion.

In this period emerges a new phase of the creative influence of Social Christianity—its function as NATION-BUILDER. This is one of its greatest contributions to human development ; and it has gone on from that day to the present hour. The first great Nation-Builder who drew his inspiration from Jesus Christ was ULFILAS. And the people out of

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

whom the new nation was to be built up were the terror of the time—the Goths. Born in 311 of parents who had been carried away captive from Cappadocia to the North of the Danube in a Gothic raid in 264, the boy was given a Gothic name, Ulfila, or Wolfling. At twenty-one he was sent to Constantinople as hostage or envoy. There, if not sooner, he became a Christian, and, as he longed to bring the Gospel to those among whom he had been brought up, he was ordained Bishop and went to the Goths. They had many gods and worshipped images. Ulfila succeeded so well with his evangelism as to rouse the persecuting wrath of the chief of the tribe. Wishing to find a refuge for his harried flock, Ulfila obtained permission from the Emperor Constantine for them to migrate into the Christian Empire and settle there. Accordingly, they crossed the Danube in 349 and took up their abode in Mœsia—the modern Bulgaria—around what is now Tirnova. This was the first exodus of a Christian people from their native land in quest, like that of the Pilgrim Fathers thirteen centuries later, after freedom of worship on another soil. The migrants, the fruit of Ulfila's seven years of toil, formed a new and distinct community. One feature marked them off, not merely from their old compatriots, but from the rest of mankind. They gave up war. The Goths were a race of fierce fighters, who lived for war and plunder and left tillage and pasturage to slaves. But the colony of

Ulfilas no longer made war their habit or pastime or pursuit. They tilled the earth and tended cattle. This transformation can hardly be denied the title of a social miracle. A more abiding marvel was wrought by Ulfilas when he created out of Greek and Runic letters an alphabet for the spoken Gothic, and then (possibly after 370) translated the Scriptures into the barbaric tongue. So he originated Teutonic literature and made, in later ages, Shakespeare and Goethe possible. The Gothic Scriptures (from which, fearing to rouse the latent fighting ferocity of the Goth, he omitted the books of Samuel and Kings), his homilies in the same tongue, and his missionaries won over the whole of the West Goths to Christianity, including the later immigrants into the Empire, under Alaric, who became the victor of Adrianople and the captor of Rome. As at once founder of Teutonic Christianity and of Teutonic literature, this "Little Wolf" gave birth to a mightier empire than was born of the legendary sucklings of the wolf of the Palatine. The community of Ulfilas was one of those social creations of Christ which have wrought mightily in the making of the race.

About A.D. 324 there was born in Pannonia (now may we say, Yugo-Slavia ?) of Pagan parents a boy whose name has been written all over Western Christendom, in innumerable namesakes, in thousands of churches and on a special season in the calendar, but is most closely associated with the country we now know as France. The father of

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

MARTIN was a military tribune, and some years after the boy's birth was moved to Northern Italy. There, when only ten years old, the boy noticed a crowd going into a church ; out of curiosity he followed ; was impressed ; and at that early age, though against his parents' wishes, he was enrolled as a catechumen. At twelve he made up his mind to be a hermit. At fifteen he was forced by his father to enter the army, and he served in the cavalry. At Amiens, according to the well-known story, on a bitter winter day, he was asked for help by a shivering beggar. Cutting his military cloak in two, he flung one-half to the beggar. The same night came to him a vision which his waking mind accepted as real. Jesus appeared to him half-clad with what had been given to the beggar, and said to His angelic escort, " Martin, still a catechumen, has covered Me with his garment." The youth felt that halfway houses or half-measures of any kind were not for him. He was baptized, and two years later gave up his soldiering. " I am a soldier of Christ," said he. " It is not permitted to me to fight." At first he was ordained exorcist. He abode some time with St. Hilary in ascetic style. He became known as a worker of miracles. Such was the fame of his sanctity and healing deeds that the people of Tours inveigled him by false pretences to that town and made him bishop of the diocese. From that centre he set about evangelizing Gaul. The people of that country were being estranged from the Empire by the fearful pressure

of taxation and the slow passage of the free peasant into the serf. St. Martin proved himself their friend against the oppressor. His chief instrument was the monastery. He made it essentially a social institution, and he planted it all over Gaul. He carried his social evangel not merely to the towns, but to the villages also. Every convent was a centre of social reconstruction, as well as a refuge for the oppressed and an immunity from taxation. No manual labour was required : "Let the Church both feed and clothe us," said St. Martin, "so long as we seem to seek nothing for our own interests." The monasteries became theological seminaries and the monks whom St. Martin trained were in popular demand. Any number of miracles were reported of him. So before his death in or about A.D. 400 he had set influences and energies in motion which created out of the crushed and suffering people of Gaul one nation. Political unity was still far off. The Franks had not yet come to give name and power to the nation. But under Martin one may say the soul of the nation was born. Modern French historians "have taken the date of his death as a starting point for their chronology"; describe him as "a typical Frenchman," though France was not yet in existence; regard him as "the apostolic hero of our country" who "dominates all our history," and proclaim him the "founder of Catholic France."

Another great nation-builder of this period was St. PATRICK. A native of South-western Britain,

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

born about 389, son of a freeborn Briton, who was also Roman citizen and Christian deacon, Patrick was carried off in an Irish raid during his seventeenth year as captive to (it is supposed) a place in Northwest Connaught. Then, when a slave among strangers, "the Lord opened the sense of my unbelief" he said. In six years of captivity he doubtless learned the language and customs of the Irish people. He fled some 180 miles to a seaport, where, guided in prayer, he was accepted by a heathen captain and crew. He spent several years in the monastery at Lerins, and then returned to his old home in Britain. There he saw in a dream a man just come from Ireland with a bundle of letters. The sixth letter contained "the voice of the Irish." He read their cry, "We pray thee, holy youth, to come and again walk amongst us as before." Thereupon he woke ; and on his waking mind was impressed the certainty that he must go as missioner to Ireland. He did not rush on his destiny. He went back to Gaul, was ordained deacon, and spent fourteen years at Auxerre preparing for his life-work. At last, in 432, he was consecrated bishop and went to Ireland. In his Confessions, as Bury tells :

"He goes on to explain how it was that though he missed the early training which is to be desired in a religious apostle, he had nevertheless presumed to take in hand the work of converting heathen lands. His narrative is intended to show that it was entirely God's doing, Who singled him out, untrained and

unskilled as he was ; that there were no worldly inducements to support the Divine Command, which he obeyed simply, without any ulterior motive and in opposition to the wish of his kinsfolk."

He had no doubt whatever about his mandate ; and knew it could only be explained by the impact of the Higher Will. History confirms his conviction.

He won over the tribes that ruled Ireland, overawed the arch-chieftain at Tara, confuted the Druids, planted churches, mapped out dioceses, organized Irish Christendom into unity, brought it into official relation with Catholic Christendom and made it use the Latin tongue. He founded church and monastery at Armagh, and seems to have made it the seat of his spiritual sway over all Ireland. His personality and posthumous influence made Ireland, in spite of tribal feuds, one nation, the source of evangelism in the larger adjacent island and over most of Western Europe, "the Isle of Saints." Yet he was withal the humblest of men.

Side by side with the disparagement of marriage and the ties of home, arose, after the Council of Ephesus (431), the adoration of the Virgin (as Mother of God) with the infant Jesus. Ever since then Christendom has seen in statues and pictures of the Mother and the Child reminders of the Divine significance of Motherhood and Infancy. The innermost life of the Home has been vindicated in worship, however much it may have been despised in ascetic teaching.

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

In the political sphere the Christian religion had in this period a very chequered record. West and East, great Churchmen refused to lower their standard even before the seemingly omnipotent emperor. St. Ambrose thrice braved Imperial opposition. Twice besieged in his own church by the troops of Justina, the mother of Valentinian II., and bidden plead his case against a rival bishop of Arian views before judges appointed by the emperor, St. Ambrose twice declined, on the ground that the civil power had no jurisdiction in matters doctrinal and ecclesiastical. And he won the day. Twice he confronted the Emperor Theodosius and refused him the sacraments until he submitted to the bishop's demand. In the first of these cases Ambrose was unmistakably in the wrong. Christians who had burned down a Jewish synagogue were quite justly ordered by the emperor to rebuild it. Ambrose compelled Theodosius to withdraw this order before he would allow him to take Holy Communion. In the second case he did a noble Christian deed. The emperor, in a fit of furious resentment, had massacred 7,000 Thessalonians ; and the sacred elements were denied him—there, in the great church of Milan, in the presence of the crowded congregation—until he did public penance and passed a law that no sentence of execution should be carried out for thirty days. Here, indeed, the authority of the Christ was gloriously maintained in face of the greatest political power on earth. When the people

of Antioch, in a passion of indignation at an increase in taxation, levelled the Imperial statues in their city, and fierce vengeance was expected from the Court, the aged Bishop Flavius travelled towards Constantinople to appease the royal wrath, and was supported at Antioch by the glorious eloquence of John Chrysostom. By this Christian appeal the city was saved.

But alas ! these memorable triumphs of Christ over Caesar only throw into painful contrast the miserable capitulation of Christian principle to political expediency which disfigures this period. After Julian's failure to establish Hellenism as a religion Jovian restored the Christian faith with an edict of toleration that augured well. But the Pagan temples were destroyed and Paganism was prohibited by the Christian Theodosius, with the general approval of the Christians ; and the same Theodosius made heresy as well as idolatry a treasonable offence (381-390). Under these statutes, Priscillian and six of his supporters in a subtle form of Gnostic heresy were tortured and put to death by the Emperor Maximus (385),—“the first,” says Gibbon, “among Christian princes to shed the blood of his Christian subjects on account of their religious opinions.” Against this ominous commencement, to their everlasting credit be it recorded, both St. Ambrose and St. Martin protested.

Heavy was the price which Christendom had to pay for the official acceptance of its faith by the

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

Empire. For in return Christendom accepted the Empire ; accepted it with transport ; never subjected to the Christian standard of criticism its absolute autocracy ; and what was primarily a religious democracy submitted with servile adulation to a military despotism. The frightful consequences appear most clearly in the Eastern Empire. There John Chrysostom, archbishop of Constantinople, made a noble stand for Christian authority over the conduct of Court and monarch as over all human life. But the powers of tyranny and sycophancy were too many for him ; and in a second banishment he died —a warning to all who dared to set Jesus above Augustus. Greek intellectualism, Oriental servility, the emasculating influence of a Court ruled too often by a conspiracy of women and eunuchs, joined with the essentially anti-Christian principle of political absolutism, made Byzantine Christianity a horrible travesty. Compared with the organised brutality of the Barbarian West, the lot of the common people in the provinces around Constantinople was indeed happy. But of the life centred in the Court, Lecky's words are well deserved :

“ Of that Byzantine Empire the universal verdict of history is that it constitutes, with scarcely an exception, the most thoroughly base and despicable form that civilization has assumed. . . . There has been no other enduring civilization so absolutely devoid of all the forms and elements of greatness, and none to which the epithet *mean* may be so emphatically applied.”

What might not a really Christian empire lasting eleven hundred years have done for humanity?

Far and away the greatest social thinker of this period, influencing to the present day the religious life of Christendom, was Augustine, first profligate, then bishop and theologian, now saint. The downfall of Rome under Alaric led him to outline the "kingdom which cannot be shaken" in his greatest work, "De Civitate Dei."*

Of his purpose in writing this work, Augustine says: "I will endeavour to treat of the origin and progress and deserved destiny of the Two Cities (the earthly and the heavenly, to wit) which are in this present world commingled and as it were entangled together." Of the drama which he thus describes, the first act and the last act are in the transcendental region. "The foundations of these Two Cities were originally laid in the difference that arose among the angels." The final separation of the Two Cities will take place at the last Judgment.

The "Two Cities have been formed by two loves: the earthly by the love of self, even to the contempt of God; the heavenly by the love of God, even to the

* The title is generally translated The City of God, but might be more correctly rendered The Divine Commonwealth. For *Civitas* meant much more than *Urbs* even though Rome meant world-state as well as City. *Civitas* denoted citizenship embodied, a State much more than a town, an organized civic community bounded by no city walls. With this understanding, and remembering how Rome expanded citizenship *ab urbe ad orbem*, we may for convenience adopt the familiar phrase City of God.

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

contempt of self . . . In the one, the princes and the nations it subdues are ruled by the love of ruling ; in the other, the princes and subjects serve one another in love." (xiv. 28). Yet to Augustine the real City of God abides in the transcendent sphere : " the city of the saints is above ; here below it begets citizens ; in them it sojourns till the time of its reign arrives : then it shall gather together all in the day of the resurrection ; and then shall the promised Kingdom be given to them " (xv. 1). Augustine traces the Two Cities in history : of the earthly in Cain, and the kingdoms of the world, of which Assyria and Rome were foremost ; of the heavenly, from Abel downwards, through the patriarchs, rulers and prophets of Israel, with a few elect souls in the heathen world (xviii. 47), to Christ and the subsequent victorious march of the Church (xviii. 48, 49). He traces also the operation of the same process in the three social circles—Home, State, World (xix. 7). " The mortal course of the Two Cities, the heavenly and the earthly, are mingled together from the beginning to the end. Both alike either enjoy temporal good things or are afflicted with temporal evils, but with diverse faith, diverse hope and diverse love " (xviii. 54). The good which both seek after is Peace. So in this mortal state there can be a harmony between the Two Cities.

" The earthly city which does not live by faith, seeks an earthly peace, and the end it proposes, in the well-ordered concord of civic obedience and rule, is

the combination of men's wills to attain the things which are helpful to this life. The heavenly city, or rather the part of it which sojourns upon earth and lives by faith, makes use of this peace only because it must, until this mortal condition which necessitates it shall pass away. It makes no scruple to obey the laws of the earthly city. And as this [mortal] life is common to both cities, so there is a harmony between them in regard to what belongs to it. This heavenly city while it sojourns upon earth, calls citizens out of all nations, and gathers together a society of pilgrims of all languages, not scrupling about diversities in the manners, laws and institutions whereby earthly peace is secured and maintained, but recognizing that, however various these are, they all tend to one and the same end of earthly peace. It therefore is so far from abolishing these diversities, that it even preserves and adopts them, so long as no hindrance to the worship of the one supreme and true God is thus introduced. Even the heavenly city therefore while in its state of pilgrimage, avails itself of the peace of earth, and so far as it can without injuring faith and godliness, desires and maintains a common agreement among men regarding the acquisition of the necessities of life, and makes this earthly peace bear upon the peace of heaven. For the life of the city is a social life" (xix. 17).

The most fateful act of Augustine's great work is his identification of "the Kingdom of Heaven which is the city of God" (xvii. 1) with the Church. The Church is the City of God (xvi. 2, xvii. 15). "The

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

Church is even now the Kingdom of Christ and the Kingdom of Heaven" (xx. 9).

When we survey Augustine's Sources we find he makes great use of the Old Testament, and of certain eschatological passages of the New Testament, but very slight use besides of the New Testament. He all but ignores the Synoptic Gospels, with their wealth of Jesus' own teaching concerning the Kingdom of God. He similarly omits to make adequate use of the profound social teaching contained in the Epistles of Paul. This failure to utilize the chief Sources of Christian social thought inevitably affects the contents of Augustine's teaching.

As a consequence Augustine does not present the appearance of Jesus on earth as constitutive of the Kingdom of God, but solely as a redemption from sin. Except for this redemption from sin, the Incarnation seems almost superfluous : the heavenly city from the beginning of the world having by the Grace of God constituted its citizens on earth (xx. 17). The City of God, the Church, is there before human history began, like the eternal ideas of Plato, in the transcendental region ; so far as in the world, its members are but pilgrims to the Beyond. And Augustine's natural and easy mistake in identifying Church and Kingdom made him think of the purpose of the Christian Religion, even of human history, as being—not as Chrysostom put it, to make earth into heaven, or such a recon-

struction of human society as a Kingdom wherein the Will of God was done on earth as in heaven—but simply to gather together the elect into a pilgrim church which should at the Day of Judgment return into the transcendent sphere.

Nevertheless, Augustine has laid the world under lasting obligation for building into his system the demand of the Master, "Let him deny himself!" The foes to be overcome by the *Civitas Dei* are not wrong belief or mistaken opinion, but self-love and self-will. And Augustine insisted, as positive to this negative, that the life of the saints must be a social life. Here is a picture of the Ideal community which is quite after the mind of the Man of Nazareth:

"The children of grace, the citizens of the free city, dwell together in everlasting peace, in which self-love and self-will have no place, but a ministering love that rejoices in the common joy of all, of many hearts makes one, secures a perfect concord" (xv. 3).

PERIOD V

WESTERN UNITY EMERGING FROM THE BARBARIC FLOOD, A.D. 476-814

Age of Savagery. Sufferings of Vanquished. Barbarians Morally Superior. Bishops Interceding. Gregory the Great. Cassiodorus. St. BENEDICT. Church as Landlord, the Snare of Great Possessions. Irish Nation-builders : St. Columban in Italy, St. Gall in Switzerland, St. COLUMBA of Iona and St. Mungo of Glasgow. Conversion of Clovis. The Making of England : "the Apostle of the English." CÆDMON, the Birth of English Literature, at Whose Word ? The English Missionary of Germany. The Idea of World-Unity: Justinian. The Pope as King-maker. CHARLEMAGNE, Pope-made Emperor. Three Rival Unities. "A Second David." Menace of ISLAM.

THE Social Christian, whose sole aim is not to transplant individual souls into a distant Paradise, but whose heart is fixed on the Will of God being done on earth as it is in Heaven, finds in the next three and a half centuries some of the saddest chapters in the story of the human race. It is one long record of rapine, devastation and slaughter. Over the fairest lands of Europe, the seats of the loftiest civilization the world had known, swept tide after tide of savagery. Scarcely a generation had passed since the Roman garrisons left Britain, when more than a century of invasion by the heathen English began to harry and drive out the hapless Christian population. Who can compute the sum of misery involved in the suppression, if not the

WESTERN UNITY EMERGING

extermination, of the civilized British Christians at the hands of our savage forefathers? Over the Channel the devastations of the Arian Goth and the Catholic Frank were less cruel and complete, but nevertheless terrible. Italy, the chief lure of Barbarian ambition and greed, affords the most signal spectacle of the successive storms which rolled and burst, generation after generation, with devastating fury.

When Odowaker became King of Italy, the Pope Gelasius declared that in whole provinces of Italy there was scarcely a soul left alive. Odowaker's reign of fourteen years ended in the fresh submersion of the peninsula under a tide of blood and fire, at the crest of which was Theodoric. His military kingship was overturned more than thirty years later by the victorious arms of Belisarius, who with fearful slaughter of the Ostrogoths restored Italy to the Empire. Next came (568) the Lombards who ruled most of Italy for 200 years, in scarcely intermittent warfare with the Imperial garrison, or with the invading Franks, or with each other.

The sufferings of the conquered peoples must have been appalling. The supplies of corn which used to feed the populace of Rome ceased, and the populace decreased by dispersion if not by starvation. The conquerors took at least a third of the land, and became the landlord class. The free Roman citizens sank to the rank of tenants, often little better than serfs; and the harvest of slaves,

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

gathered at every recurrence of war, was a fresh addition to the huge total of human cruelty and misery. Yet many, even of the stalwart Lombards, gave themselves up as slaves to avoid starvation. The exactions of rent by the Barbarian landlord, and the heavier exactions of taxes, whether by Imperial or Barbarian rulers, were felt to be a crushing burden. And every fresh surge of war meant a deeper impoverishment.

The picture is dark, yet not all dark. The Barbarians, with all their rapacity and cruelty, brought with them a higher moral standard. Already St. Salvian, of Marseilles, had written (440-450) a book on the Government of God, in which he said Rome had fallen because of her vices, and he extolled the immense moral superiority of the Barbarians over the Romans. "Many of their tribes," he said, "are free from the taint of drunkenness, and among all, except the Alans and the Huns, chastity is the rule." The Barbarians had a sense of honour much finer and keener than was shown by decadent Greek or Roman. Most of the invading hosts were Christians and showed a deference to Christian buildings and Christian bishops, which helped to moderate somewhat the horrors of invasion. And in curious contrast to this period of triumphant lawlessness, efforts were made to reduce to writing the laws of the different peoples. Most monumental and of most enduring influence were the Code, the Digests, the Institutes and the Novels

WESTERN UNITY EMERGING

of Justinian (529–553). But there were also drawn up statements of the laws of the Goths, the Lombards, the Bavarians and the English.

Amid the general decay or downfall of the ancient social fabric, the social influence which Jesus inspired did not fail to exert itself, however feebly or intermittently at times. As Pope Leo had overawed Attila, and held him back from sacking Rome, so later bishops intervened not once or twice to save their cities from ruin by the Barbarian foe. In the name of Christ they interposed to relieve their people from the slower, but only less crushing pressure of taxation. So when the taxes demanded from the province of Liguria, already unendurable, were doubled, Epiphanius, Bishop of Ticinum, was appealed to by the despairing people, and induced the stern Odowaker to remit the extra load. When certain churches in Ticinum had been burned down and rebuilt by the generous gifts of the people, Epiphanius persuaded Odowaker to grant them as a reward five years' freedom from tribute. Just before he died, the same indefatigable prelate induced Theodoric to remit two-thirds of the taxes due for the year from his province. Nor was he merely the champion of the aggrieved tax-payer. In 494 he persuaded Gundabad the Burgundian to return to their homes in Liguria 6,000 prisoners who had been carried off captive years before. So St. Caesarius, Bishop of Arles, sold his communion plate to ransom captives.

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

In the relief of positive hunger there was great work for the Church to do. St. Severinus, hermit of Noricum, whose predictions encouraged Theodoric in his ambitions, accumulated at Faviana great quantities of food and clothing for the purpose of relieving the hunger and want of clothes of the refugees or captives who passed along the great Roman road to or from the Danube. Provision for the poor in Rome was no longer the old political dole of "bread-basket and games." Rome was the refuge of fugitives from the wrath of the Goth or Lombard, and from the devastations of contending armies. This fact invests with special value the charities of Gregory the Great (about 540 to 604). Son of a wealthy senator, given the best education available at the time, he rose to be Prefect of Rome. Then (574) he made the great renunciation. He turned his vast ancestral estates in Sicily to the foundation and endowment of six monasteries, made his family palace on the Caelian Hill the monastery of St. Andrew, in which he became a humble monk, and gave the rest of his property for distribution among the poor. After four years in the seclusion of the monastery he was appointed Seventh Deacon, "one of the Seven" who had special charge of the poor. As Pope (590-604) his benefice is thus described by John the Deacon (writing, it is true, 270 years later) :

"He turned into money the revenues of all the patrimonia and farms ; and then having collected all

WESTERN UNITY EMERGING

the officials of the Church, the palace, the monasteries, the lesser churches, the cemeteries, the deaconries, the reception-houses for strangers (*xenodochia*) in the city and suburbs, he decided from the ledger how many *solidi* should be given to each person four times in the year, namely, at Easter, on the birthday of the Apostles, on the birthday of St. Andrew and his own birthday. . . . On the first day of each week, he distributed to the poor generally the same kinds of produce which were collected from the rents. Thus corn in its season, and in their several seasons wine, cheese, pulse, bacon or other wholesome flesh, fish and oil, were most discreetly distributed by that father of the family of God. But pigments and other delicate articles of commerce were gratuitously offered by him to the nobles of the city, so that the Church came to be regarded as the warehouse of the whole community. . . . Moreover, every day, by means of charioteers appointed to the office, he sent out cooked rations to all the sick and infirm poor throughout the streets and lanes of the city."

This same biographer, says Dr. Hodgkin, who quotes the foregoing testimony,

"then goes on to tell us of Gregory's grief on learning that a poor man in one of the common lodging-houses of Rome had died of hunger. He blamed himself as if he had killed the man with his own hands, and for some days he would not permit himself to celebrate mass."

Gregory was the first monk to be made Pope, and he carried into his Papal office and dwelling the

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

traditions of the cloister, notably those of care for the poor. For the monasteries, which were multiplied and regulated in this period, were the chief centres of relief. They were centres also of work and skill. In this time of social chaos they provided an attractive retreat of happy activity enhanced by security and much immunity, to men of all ranks. Cassiodorus, minister of Theodoric, on leaving public life in or about 540, retired to the monastery of Vivarium, in his native district of South Italy, and gives pleasing pictures of its many charms. "It was the glory of Cassiodorus," says Hodgkin, "that he, first and pre-eminently, insisted on the expediency of including intellectual labour in the sphere of monastic duties." He made the monastery a theological school. This "divinely suggested thought," continues Hodgkin, "was one of infinite importance to the human race."

As organizer and regulator of monastic life, St. BENEDICT of Nursia (who lived from about 480 to 544) may claim a leading place among the social pioneers of the race. For the monastery was the chief engine of social reconstruction, and, as we are frequently reminded, of nation-building; and it was always a social instrument. Benedict came of a good family in Umbria. In early youth, disgusted with the corrupt life of his companions, Benedict ran away from school and began the ascetic life in a cave in Monte Subiaco. After some years of solitude, his fame for sanctity led monks in a convent

WESTERN UNITY EMERGING

near by to invite him to be their abbot; but his strictness and their laxity together drove him back to his cave. There fresh disciples gathered about him, and he founded no fewer than a dozen monasteries, each of a dozen monks, all under his control. The plots of a neighbouring priest sent him south to Cassino, where he founded the monastery which was his lifework. There he established his famous Rule, of which Dom Butler says :

“ The manner of life instituted by St. Benedict was not intended to be one of any great austerity when judged by the standard of his own day. His monks were allowed proper clothes, sufficient food, ample sleep. The only bodily austerities were the abstinence from flesh meat and the unbroken fast till midday or even 3 p.m. The directly religious duties of the day can hardly have taken more than 4 or 5 hours—perhaps 8 on Sundays. The remaining hours of the day were divided between work and reading in the proportion of about 6 and 4 hours respectively.”

This Rule became the standard for all Western monasticism, excepting the Irish. To people harried by the horrors of ever-recurring war, the monastery must have seemed “ Paradise for Hell.” Within its walls all classes mingled. Here, indeed, was the “ culture ” of true social reconstruction.

Hence, too, went out the evangelists who converted the Italian peasantry, and rooted out the last remains of heathenism.

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

By these foundations and by many other means, the properties of the religious bodies, amid all the anarchy that prevailed, went on steadily increasing, and brought with them new responsibilities and new dangers to the bearers of the Christian name. The Church of Rome naturally drew to itself large gifts from its powerful and wealthy adherents; and its accumulated endowments, under the title of the Patrimony of St. Peter, became a colossal estate. At the time of Gregory the Great, whose munificence had much enriched it, the Patrimony is estimated to have reached the extent of 1,500 square miles—about the size of Essex—and to have yielded an annual income of £420,000. All over Christendom, the same process of endowment was going on, in varying degrees.

Here was a new economic fact, involving the gravest moral and social issues. Those who stood and spoke in the name of Christ were becoming some of the greatest landowners in Europe. How did the Christian conscience of the time face this fact? Generally with approval and thanksgiving. There is no sign of a qualm at taking from the hard-working peasant what he called rent, and Amos called “exactions of wheat,” and Ruskin “the Devil’s tax.” The well-nigh half a million sterling wrung annually from the tenants on St. Peter’s Patrimony was not given back to them as produce of their own toil, and as (according to Isaiah lxv. 21, 22) justly due to them. It was appropriated to

WESTERN UNITY EMERGING

the support of the clergy, to the upkeep of the fabric of churches, and to the relief of the poor in Rome. The Church generally accepted the position of landlord with all its emoluments and its prevailing standards, only resolving at best to be what we now term a model landlord. This was the aim which continually appears in the great Gregory's correspondence with his steward in Sicily.

The Church became not merely a great landowner but also a slave-owner. The Church encouraged manumission, but did not practise it.

So property brought its usual snare. Prelates like Gregory, who gave all that they themselves possessed with the most reckless profusion, took up a different attitude as trustees of St. Peter's Patrimony. When the dukedom of Rome was threatened by the Lombards, Gregory sent soldiers to ward off invasion and gave instructions for attack. Two bishops who had themselves fought in the third Lombard War were reprobated, and later laws forbade the clergy to shed blood in battle. But here is Gregory arranging for—defensive—war and bloodshed.

Meantime the religion of Jesus went on with its task of nation-building. Ireland furnished many pioneers in the reconstruction of Europe. Her monasteries were famous not merely for their learning but for their intense missionary zeal. In view of their European eminence, it is interesting to remember what Montalembart said, that “the first great monasteries of Ireland were nothing else than

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

clans reorganized under a religious form"; up to the middle of the sixth century, Irish monasteries included women and children. Whole communities with home life and tribe life, actuated by the Christian religion, ought to offer a better opportunity for developing the full Christian spirit than merely celibate institutions. ST. COLUMBAN (543-615), with a dozen monks, left Ireland about 585 to found a monastery in a rough and uncared for part of the Vosges. From this centre of culture he was ejected because of his stern witness against the vices of the court of Burgundy, where the infamous Brunhilda ruled through her dissolute son. Settling in Switzerland, he tried to evangelize and civilize the Sueves and Allemans, but had again to take to flight and founded a monastery at Bobbio in Italy. Wherever he went he took with him the high standard of Irish morals and Irish learning. St. Gall was his disciple and, settling in a thick Swiss forest, formed the cell whence sprang the monastery of St. Gall, for some centuries "one of the chief seats of learning and education in Europe," and eventually the city and canton of St. Gall.

One of the greatest of Irish nation-builders was ST. COLUMBA. Born of royal race in Donegal in 521, he became a monk and founded monasteries and churches in his own native land. At the age of 42 he began his lifework by settling in Iona and founding there one of the most famous monasteries in the world. The island was given him and his twelve

WESTERN UNITY EMERGING

monks, probably by the ruler of Dalriada (Argyllshire) who was his kinsman, and it was made by him the base of a systematic evangelization of Scotland. A century and a half previously, St. Ninian (about 350–432), himself a native of the lands about the Solway, had been sent as bishop from Rome to evangelize the Picts, but after his death the people among whom he laboured seem to have gone back to heathenism. His work was revived by St. MUNGO (Kentigern), a contemporary of Columba (whom he met about 585), founder of a monastery at Glasgow, and originator of that city. But the chief work of creating a Christian nation out of the people of Scotland was done by the Irish saint in Iona. He and his monks planted churches, set up bishoprics, founded monasteries, and kept them all under his control and that of his successors. He was statesman as well as priest. Believing it to be better for the people, he altered the royal succession of Dalriada, and crowned at Iona Ædhan as king—"the first recorded instance of a royal coronation in Great Britain." His character was as pure and high as his power was great. His memory has been an abiding consecration of the Scottish nation.

A prayer in the crisis of battle and its immediate answer are said to have proved the turning point in the history of Western Europe, pregnant with vast issues for its social and political future. The Franks, whose home was what we now know as Belgian and French Flanders, were a heathen people,

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

obtaining by conquest more and more of Gaul. Their king Clovis had married a Catholic princess of Burgundy, and at her desire had allowed his two sons to receive Catholic baptism, but himself remained a heathen. His growing domain was attacked by the Alamanni, and he met them in battle near Strasbourg with much inferior numbers (496). Dr. Hodgkin thus tells the tale, following the ancient chronicler :

“ [The Franks] seemed to be overmatched and the horror of impending defeat overshadowed the Frankish king. Then in despair he bethought himself of the God of Clotilda. Raising his eyes to Heaven, he said : ‘ O Jesus Christ, whom Clotilda declares to be son of the living God, who art said to give help to those who are in trouble and who trust in Thee, I humbly beseech Thy succour ! I have called on my gods and they are far from my help. If Thou wilt deliver me from mine enemies, I will believe in Thee and be baptized in Thy name.’ At this moment a sudden change was seen in the fortunes of the Franks. The Alamanni began to waver, they turned, they fled. . . . The nation seems to have accepted Clovis as its overlord. Clovis hastened back to his queen and told her the story of his vow. At the Christmas festival he stood in the white robes of a catechumen in the basilica of Rheims and heard from the mouth of Remigius the well-known words, ‘ Bow thy neck in meekness, O Sicambrian ! Adore what thou hast burned, and burn what thou hast adored.’ ”

WESTERN UNITY EMERGING

The baptism of Clovis meant that the steadily-expanding empire of the Franks was neither heathen nor Arian, but Catholic, pupil and champion of Roman Christianity, with consequences momentous for good and evil, reaching down in direct succession to the nineteenth century. After as before baptism, Clovis was far from being a model character. But the aid of Him whom he invoked is not limited to the immaculate ; as the Barbarian said, “ He helps those who are in trouble, and who trust Him.” The Unseen Leader intervened at the critical moment.

The creation of the nation of England was very largely the work of the Church. Puns are a kind of humour said not to be pleasing to the modern mind, yet the English owe their religious and national life to a missionary purpose which voiced itself in three puns. St. Gregory, while still a deacon, was viewing in the slave-market at Rome the fair hair and complexion of slaves from Britain, and inquiring their nation, place and king. The answers he received suggested the historic puns. “ Angles ! good, they have the faces of Angels. Deiri ! good, De Ira eruti (snatched from Wrath). Aelli king ! Alleluia, the praise of God the Creator must be sung in those parts.” He set out with a company of monks to turn these puns into history. But as the punster became Pope, he entrusted the mission which lay so near his heart to Augustine and his forty monks. They were welcomed by the King of Kent, thanks to the good offices of his queen who was a Christian.

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

The Pope sent, the monks came, but it was a Woman who opened the door. The conversion of Kent and then of Northumbria followed. Churches, bishoprics, monasteries were planted far and wide. The British Christians, who had out of sheer hatred to the English invaders refused to impart to them the Gospel of Christ, refused now to co-operate with the Roman evangelists. How much wider than the merely ecclesiastical was the outlook of Gregory appears in his letter to Augustine, saying : “ You ought to establish in the Church of the English, which is still but newly brought to the faith by the motion of God, that manner of life which our fathers used in the beginning of the infant Church —among whom . . . they had all things common.” Well has Bede said of Gregory : “ He is the man whom we may rightly call our Apostle. He made our nation, which up to that time had been enslaved to idols, a Church of Christ.” Observe, it is the *nation* which has been made a Church ; a transformation of greater social and political significance than merely ecclesiastical.

The work of the Roman missionaries, Augustine and Paulinus and others, was largely undone by the victories of heathen Mercia. But Oswald, Christian King of Northumbria, remembered his stay as a youth in the island of Iona, and sent thither for missionaries to win the English to the true faith. Aidan came and planted his bishop’s see in Lindisfarne ; with a troop of missionaries, he overran the

WESTERN UNITY EMERGING

south of Scotland and the north of England. So England was won back to Christendom by evangelists who came from an Irish monastery on a Scottish isle. Then followed a Roman resurgence in the south ; and the competing claims of St. Peter's see and St. Columba were settled at the Synod of Whitby (644) in favour of the keeper of the keys of Heaven. The Celtic missionaries retired and left the field to Rome, whose higher culture and firmer discipline were perhaps of more social value to nascent England. Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury 668–690, was a great pioneer of national unity. By grouping all the bishoprics around the see of the Primate, and by his synods, he united, as Bede says, all the Church of the Angles. The Primacy preceded the Monarchy of all England and made possible the later political work of Egbert and Alfred.

But before it disappeared, Celtic Christianity had given birth to one of the most wonderful gifts of God which ever enriched the world and one of immeasurable social importance. It came like the Greatest Gift of all, in a stable. It came by a lowly cowherd. It came manifestly from the Unseen. CÆDMON had long passed the time when every man is said to be a poet ; his youth was far behind him ; and he had never broken out into verse. How the wonder came had best be told in the words of Bede :

“ Being sometimes at feasts, when all agreed for glee's sake to sing in turn, he no sooner saw the harp

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

come towards him than he rose from the board and turned homewards. Once when he had done thus, and gone from the feast to the stable where he had that night charge of the cattle, there appeared to him in his sleep One who said, greeting him by name, ‘Sing, Cædmon, some song to Me.’ ‘I cannot sing,’ he answered. For this cause I left the feast and came hither.’ He who talked with him answered, ‘However that be, you shall sing to Me.’ ‘What shall I sing?’ rejoined Cædmon. ‘The beginning of created things,’ replied He. Immediately he began to sing in praise of God the Creator verses which he had never heard. Rising from sleep, he kept in his memory all that he had sung in his sleep. Led [by his master] to the abbess [of Whitby] he was bidden tell his dream and repeat his song in the presence of many learned men. It seemed to all ‘that heavenly grace had been conferred on him by the Lord.’ . . . The abbess, understanding the Divine grace in the man, bade him quit the secular habit and take on him the monastic purpose. . . . Others after him strove to compose religious poems, but none could vie with him, for he learnt not the art of poetry from men, nor of men, but from God.”

So English literature was born on English soil.

Here as often happens, it is not the dream, but the waking conviction that follows and interprets the dream, which constitutes the Mandate. That conviction is confirmed by the circle of spiritual men and women around him, and is endorsed by a far vaster verdict. When one recalls what English

WESTERN UNITY EMERGING

literature has done for mankind, or notes the Biblical tinge which colours its whole course from the first, or surveys the untold riches of what may fitly be termed English Scripture, or observes how it has imbued the peoples of the world with the highest ideals in ethics, politics and religion, can one doubt of the Source whence this great Ocean-river of influence has flowed ? In this Call of Cædmon, the Unseen Director of all social progress unmistakably uttered His voice.

Thus converted and thus inspired, England was seized with a passion for evangelizing the unconverted of Europe. The Northumbrian Willibrord, trained at Ripon and under Egbert in Ireland, went over to remake the life of the Frisians, among whom he worked for fifty years and died aged eighty-three (738). The greatest English missionary in this period was Winfrid, later called Boniface. A native of Crediton, in Devon, born about 680, son of a wheelwright, but with royal connections, Winfrid was greatly impressed, when a boy of five, by some religious visitors of his father. At seven he became a monk. At thirty-eight he launched on his world-shaping career. The heathen Radbod declined to let him land in Frisia, where he wished to continue Willibrord's work. He was armed with a letter from Gregory II. giving him authority to preach in Germany or anywhere else. His evangelism was crowned with much success in Thuringia (Saxony), and more signally in Hesse Cassell. He was made

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

bishop at Rome in 723. By hewing down the sacred oak at Geismar, he dismayed and converted the heathen. Though he never went back to England, he induced many English men and women to join him, and they founded some famous convents for monks and nuns ; monastic settlements were everywhere the social instrument of national conversion. Archbishop in 732, and taking for his armorial bearing a wheel to recall his father's craft, he followed up the work of Bishop Rupert, who founded the see of Salzburg (695-711), in civilizing and evangelizing Bavaria ; and in that region effected "something not far short of a spiritual revolution." Trusted and empowered alike by Popes and Kings, he practically exercised the functions of a metropolitan over the whole of the realm ruled by the Franks, rooting out the remnants of idolatry, and trying to reform the clergy. And the pure love of his intimate friendship with many high-souled women, as his correspondence attests, must have diffused alike in barbaric wilds and corrupt courts a breath of the old Galilean days. His feeling for St. Lioba, the English nun, whom he put at the head of the first abbey for women in his missionary sphere, may be gathered from his choice to be buried by her side. After bringing all of what is now France and Eastern Germany under the sway of the Pope, he tried once more to enter Frisia, and died a martyr's death at the hands of the heathen (754). He had immensely advanced the reconstruction of Europe, and delibe-

WESTERN UNITY EMERGING

rately, as Ranke believes, had raised a German rampart against the possible onset of Islam from the East.

While Christianity was thus creating new nations, what had become of the International idea which was from the first embedded in the faith? From the time of Constantine's conversion, the Christian thought of world-unity had been identified with the Roman Empire. But almost immediately after Constantine's death, the Empire began visibly to shrink; the world beyond the Roman boundaries began to reveal its extent and to assert its power. When the Western Empire fell, with Romulus Augustulus, the only Empire left was that which had formerly been its Eastern half, and Constantinople received a precarious recognition as the centre of the unity of Christendom. That claim might seem to be nobly vindicated in the reign of Justinian (530-564) by the codes of Trebonian and by the Western victories of Belisarius, but Emperor and Court were dominated by Theodora, a prostitute of many cities, raised to the throne amid the adulation of the clergy, without one dissentient voice—for none were emulous of the fate of Chrysostom—to do more harm as Empress than she ever did as courtesan. But while the new capital on the Bosphorus was sinking in moral authority and contracting its circumference, the old capital on the Tiber was steadily increasing its spiritual power as the seat of the chief Bishop of Christendom. The Popes, it is true, were con-

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

sidered political vassals of the Emperor, and until the middle of the eighth century accepted confirmation of their office at his hands. But the growing Patrimony of St. Peter made them increasingly temporal princes. St. Gregory "between the swords of the Lombards" appealed to the Emperor for aid ; but he raised troops himself, and dared in the end to make peace with the Barbarian, without authorization from the Empire. While the political authority of Constantinople was thus set aside at Rome, the spiritual hegemony of the Roman See was challenged by the Metropolitan at Constantinople assuming the title of *Œcumene*cal Patriarch. The claim involved in the title was withdrawn in response to impassioned protests from Rome, but the rivalry went on. When, however, the Byzantine monarch, Leo III. (726-732), ordered the destruction of all images used in worship, the rupture became complete. The Lombard Luidprand made his championship of images a fresh occasion of attacking the Pope, who was nominally vassal of the Iconoclast, and only the awe-compelling appeal in person of Gregory II. saved Rome from being taken by the Lombard. The Roman See, having repudiated the order of Iconoclasm, felt that it could no longer hope for help from Constantinople against the Arian Lombard, and appealed to the Catholic Frank (741) who had in 732 saved Christendom from Moslem ascendancy by his victory at Tours. Pope Zacharias took a bold step forward toward the

WESTERN UNITY EMERGING

assertion of the super-national authority of the Papacy ; he authorized Pippin, son of Charles Martel, whom he succeeded as Mayor of the Palace, to depose the last of the Merovingian Kings and to assume the Crown himself : an act which Pope Stephen II. made more emphatic and dramatic by crowning and anointing Pippin in Gaul (754). The Pope-made king in turn descended into Italy, and having defeated the Lombard, made over to the Roman See the lands of the Exarchate of Ravenna, which the Lombard had torn from the Empire. The spiritual sway of Rome had meantime been extended over England, and, by the English Boniface, over a large tract of Germany. A final menace by the Lombard king led to an appeal from Pope Hadrian to the Frankish Charles, afterwards known as the Great, who swooped down on Italy, put an end to the Kingdom of Lombardy, annexed Northern Italy to his sway, and confirmed his father's gift of the Exarchate lands to the Papacy. He was accepted as suzerain of Rome, the Pope being his vassal, and so took the position formerly held by the Byzantine Emperor. About the same time emerged the fiction certainly, possibly a deliberate forgery, of the so-called Donation of Constantine, by which the first Christian Emperor, in moving his capital to the Bosphorus, is declared to have ceded his western dominions to the Pope. This fiction—a proof of the vast ambitions of the Papacy—was accepted as genuine for nearly seven centuries. At last, on

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

Christmas Day, 800, in the basilica of St. Peter at Rome, Pope Leo III. without a word of public warning crowned and anointed Charles EMPEROR. This meant a new Roman Empire, in supersession of the Byzantine Empire then governed by the infamous Irene, but claiming to follow directly upon Constantine VI., who nominally reigned at Constantinople, 780-797 (in the end blinded by his inhuman mother). The act of the Pope had thus appeared to establish world-unity at Rome in the person of the Emperor Charles. But Leo had done much more. He had claimed for the Papacy the right to dispose, not of kingdoms merely, as Zacharias had done, but of the Empire itself. This involved the unity of all Christendom under the overlordship of the Bishop of Rome.

The quest after unity Jesus had planted in the hearts of His followers. They have held to it with a tenacity invincible. It was now asserting itself in a spectacular way. But the actual result of Leo's action was the presence of three claimants to unity, all nominally Roman : one traditional, actually Greek, seated at Constantinople, one actually German, seated at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), and one (we shall have to say in view of the growing Papal domain and consequent increasing Papal pre-occupation with Italy) actually Italian, seated at Rome. The first two were Imperial, and in spite of recurring mutual recognitions continued rivals

WESTERN UNITY EMERGING

to the end. The third was ecclesiastical, but with claims super-Imperial. The demarcation of Imperial and Papal authority became inevitably the problem of succeeding centuries. For the present, however, the real unity of the West lay in Charles the Great.

The new lord of the world, inheriting with the title the autocracy of Constantine, who had presided over the synod of Frankfort in 794, which condemned decrees approved by Pope Hadrian, required feudal submission and service from bishop and abbot as from the secular nobility, and first made legally binding the payment of tithes for the support of the priesthood. He regarded himself as a second David administering the Kingdom of God on earth. The oath of allegiance to him as Emperor "binds those who swear it to live, each and every one of them, according to his strength and knowledge in the holy service of God . . . to do no violence nor treason towards the holy Church, or to widows and orphans, or strangers, seeing that the lord Emperor has been appointed, after the Lord and His saints, the protector and defender of all such." It also enjoins purity on monks, hospitality, and the avoidance of specified sins. The new Empire was to be a theocracy.

He also made his court the seat of many-sided culture. He gathered round him the foremost scholars of the day, among whom Alcuin the Northumbrian was chief, and so—to quote Dr.

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

Hodgkin again—"made himself the centre and rallying point of a literary and scientific movement hardly less important than the great Renascence of the fifteenth century." And his favourite study was Augustine's "City of God." Lord Bryce dares to say that "the Holy (Roman) Empire was built upon the foundation of the *De Civitate Dei*."

Noble, generous, large-hearted, great warrior and statesman and educationist, Charles has captivated the imagination of mankind and become the hero of the world's romance. But he resembled his prototype David in his lax views of the marriage tie. Gibbon says laconically, "he bestowed a multitude of bastards on the Church." The social influence of Charles on the new era which he inaugurated was undoubtedly immense : in his greatest ideas he was inspired by the Christian faith. His vices were more followed than his virtues by his successors ; and the practice of using the Church as the dumping ground for unwanted persons, either illegitimate children or political rivals, could not tend to the soundness of the chief agency for inculcating Christian ethics. Charles' ruthless propaganda of the faith among the Saxons by the power of the sword carried Christendom still further away from its earlier ideals of non-coercive evangelism.

During the period now ending, the very existence of Christendom had been gravely threatened, and its area vastly reduced, by the rise and spread of Islam. Almost the whole of Spain, all the lands lying on the

WESTERN UNITY EMERGING

Southern shores of the Mediterranean, together with Palestine and Syria, had been conquered by the successors of Mohammed. Only a very tiny strip of territory, as it appears on the map of the world, was left to the faith which was to evangelize all nations and bring them into the unity of one Kingdom. Within the scant region stretching from Ireland to Asia Minor, and from Sicily to Saxony, were gathered the social traditions and the social ideals intended to transform the globe into a Christian planet.

PERIOD VI

THE TRIUMPH OF FEUDALISM AND PAPACY : A.D. 814-1085

The Byzantine Empire. Feudalism a System of Graded Force, superseding other Government. Influence of and on Christianity. Monastic Contrast: Chief Home of Social Christianity. Church in France. Empire reforming Papacy. ALFRED the Great, an eminent social Christian. Sweden, Christian without Force; Norway, by Coercion. Russia peacefully persuaded. Social Transformation of Hungary: St. STEPHEN. The Idea of Christendom as a Single Community. The Church rescued by the Empire. HILDEBRAND: Canossa. "The Peace of God": "the Truce of God." Manegold's Social Contract. The Drama revived.

THE social order set forth in the teachings of Jesus as the Kingdom of God is confronted in this period by two very different systems. In the dwindling Empire centred in Constantinople, the old Imperial autocracy was maintained over a submissive Church and in the main a contented people. The civil administration well maintained the traditions of Roman law now codified and intelligible: military and naval forces were kept in a state of efficiency. On the anti-Christian nature of political absolutism, judgment has been passed in previous pages. And the religious interest of the people was absorbed in a passion for right opinion rather than in Christian conduct. Under these conditions there was little or no prospect of developing a genuine Evangelic Society.

TRIUMPH OF FEUDALISM AND PAPACY

In the West the long confusion of lawless force contending with lawless force crystallized into a system of graded force, at the summit of which was the strongest and at the base of which was the weakest and utterly helpless. The Roman system of equal law enforced by the Emperor for the protection of all citizens ceased to operate through the weakness of the central executive amid the invasions and strife of the Barbarian hordes. Even Charles the Great with his Imperial Commissioners could not revive it. The royal sway of his successors over the turbulent chiefs of partially conquered tribes was unable to exercise authority or to render protection to the ordinary citizen. As neither emperor nor king nor law could defend them from the frequent raids of Norsemen, Magyar and Hun, or from extortionate tax gatherers or other oppressors nearer home, the common people were driven to seek protection from the nearest castle or landowner strong enough to defend them. The old Roman relation of patron and client, and the old German arrangement of voluntary service rendered to a freely chosen chief, were developed into a personal contract between vassal and lord, by which the land of the inferior was surrendered to his lord, and returned to him as a benefice or fief, the superior receiving military service with a slight pecuniary acknowledgment, and undertaking on his side to give the inferior the necessary protection. This relation of lord and vassal superseded all other forms of govern-

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

ment. The higher the lord in this ascending scale, the greater his power : for the larger was the number of retainers he could summon into the field. And the lower the vassal in the scale, the less was his power, as the number of retainers he could summon was smaller. At the bottom of the scale was the man who had no vassals beneath him ; could, therefore invoke no armed aid, was absolutely at the mercy of his lord, became less and less of a citizen and more and more of a serf. Those who had retainers and could appeal to the only arbitrament recognized, that of force, whether squire, knight, count, duke, formed the nobility, a rigid caste, who looked down with ferocious pride upon the common people, the tiller of the soil, the manual worker, free or unfree. So the lands bristled with castles, each with its dungeon and torture chamber. So the power of the king often shrank almost to his own personal domain ; and the land was under the control of the great landed magnates. In England the Norman Conqueror, by insisting that each vassal should swear fealty not merely to his immediate lord, as was the case in Europe generally, but also to the king as supreme overlord, avoided the weakness of the French and German monarchies. Such was FEUDALISM. It reached its zenith in the tenth century. It began to fade in the thirteenth.

What had the Christian spirit to say to it ?

In so far as vassal freely served his lord and was proud of the relation, and in so far as the lord was

TRIUMPH OF FEUDALISM AND PAPACY

generous protector of his vassal, and used his tremendous power justly, there were moral elements akin to the Evangelic ideal. Perhaps the best outcome of feudalism is the spirit enshrined in the phrase *noblesse oblige*. Its proud joy in serving a worthy superior is common to every form of human society. But taking feudalism, not as idealized in romance or later chivalry, but in its actual working, this graded system of brute force, pressing with frightful injustice and cruelty upon the mass of the common people and vaunting itself in its violence with the utmost truculence of arrogance, is surely the very opposite, the organized contradiction, of the equal brotherhood of the Kingdom of God.

How did the Church stand to feudalism? It was a part of it. Abbot and bishop were feudal functionaries just as were count or duke. They had to supply their quota of retainers for military service just as did the rest, with the exception that they themselves were exempt from bearing arms. As a rule, however, it seems the Church was more merciful to its vassals and serfs than the secular nobles. To that extent a harsh and brutal system was mitigated by Christian influence.

The same Western lands which were studded with castles were also besprinkled with monasteries. The monastery was the very antithesis of feudalism. Too frequently members of the great nobility were installed as abbots and abbesses; but monks of noble birth worked under monks of servile origin;

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

the idea of equality was asserted, and the pride of rank abased. The lowly toil on which the knight looked down with scorn was hallowed by the monks. And Force elsewhere tyrannously triumphant was within the monastic walls disavowed and disallowed. The cloister was the home of the culture, the learning, the art, which the castle dissained. And the schools of the monastery played a great part in popular education. The Council of Mainz "ordered that all children should be taken either to the monastery schools or to those kept by their priests to learn the rudiments of belief and the Lord's Prayer in their mother tongue. Of the school of Cluny the monk Udalbric said : "It would be difficult for the son of a king to be brought up with more care in a palace than is shown to the very least of these in Cluny." The library of the monastery was accessible to the poor and books were lent out to the poor at the discretion of the abbot.

The monastery was thus the chief home of social Christianity in this period. But alas ! the rule of St. Benedict which for well nigh 400 years was the standard of Western monasticism had been painfully relaxed under the stress of the troublous times, aided by the practical autonomy of each Benedictine house. The moral and spiritual condition of the monks had sunk very low. The needed reform was supplied not by monk or priest, but by a layman. William, Duke of Aquitaine, with a view to the restoration of monastic discipline, founded (910)

TRIUMPH OF FEUDALISM AND PAPACY

and endowed the monastery of CLUNY. This marked the beginning of a great movement for the social exemplification of the religion of Jesus. The Cluniac system differed from the Benedictine, notably in three features. It gave up tillage of the soil and work with the hands, and added the time thus liberated to purely devotional services. It gave the abbot virtual power to appoint his successor, instead of leaving the choice in the hands of the monks. And in place of the little local republics or largely autonomous houses of St. Benedict, it gathered the monasteries into one great order, under complete control by the abbot of Cluny, who was by Papal licence freed from all local Episcopal sway, and subject only, with the abbot at its head, to the authority of the Pope. Heads of the other houses were mostly called Priors, not abbots. Under the vigorous autocracy of the early abbots of Cluny—tempered only by occasional assemblies of the heads of affiliated houses—the monastic discipline was tightened, the standard raised, the inner life made more exclusively religious, and a well drilled army of monks under unified command was placed at the service of the Papacy. The prevalent passion for unity which pervaded school and Church and State conquered also monasticism.

Within the narrower groups of locally related tribes and princedoms, a similar tendency was at work. The Making of Nations was proceeding apace. And at first the influence of the Christian

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

faith was exerted on the side of national (*i.e.*, royal) authority, as opposed to the arbitrary and divisive power of the great nobles. With the Treaty of Verdun, what we now know as France and Germany became distinct nations, with different languages. In France, according to Louis Halphen, "The whole history of the tenth century is filled with the struggles which the kings were forced to wage against the counts and dukes. . . . But everywhere and always it was the support, both moral and material, supplied by the Church which enabled them to maintain themselves." In Germany the process of unification was carried on by a succession of high-souled kings. Henry the Fowler (919–936) brought all German lands under his sway, and in addition, did a lasting service to human freedom by founding and developing Towns in the Northern parts of his dominions. These enabled freemen to retain their freedom, to escape sinking into vassalage to feudal lords, and in the joy of their liberties to create thriving centres of justice, industry and commerce. Similarly in Spain, a century later, the growth of free towns was fostered by royal influence as witnessed by charters from 1020 to 1076 and onward; but these were developed as frontier fortresses against the Moslem. It was the Fowler's son, Otto the Great (936–975) who systematically availed himself of the orderly and unitive forces resident in organized religion. His triumph over recalcitrant nobles within, and over assaults from

TRIUMPH OF FEUDALISM AND PAPACY

barbarous foes without, raised the German people as a whole to a high pitch of national self-consciousness. To consolidate these successes he extended the power of the prelates, conferring on them great landed estates and privileges of jurisdiction. Foremost potentate of Europe, he revived the glories of Charles the Great, with a far more united realm behind him, by receiving from the Pope, whom he had delivered from foes in Italy, the crown of Roman Emperor (962). To the exalted dream of Imperial unity, so worthily cherished by him and the German monarchs who came after him, was sacrificed, as we shall see, the unity of Germany and the peace of Europe for many generations. And the power of the Church which he had fostered as an instrument of concord, became a potent lever of disunion.

The political union of England was carried through by one of the greatest monarchs that ever wore the English crown and at the same time one of the truest saints that ever spoke English. ALFRED was a great social Christian. From earliest life he strove to bring his will under the law of Christ. The Scriptures in some part or other he ever carried about with him ; and his custom was to spend much time in prayer. So he grew to be a soul of rare heroic character, in war and in peace, in making and in enforcing laws. The best that he knew or could learn or acquire, he strove to make a permanent possession of the English people. He was a

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

pioneer in education : he founded a Court school wherein the sons of the higher classes could be taught to read in Latin and Saxon. His desire was that "all the youth of England of freemen be set to learn until that they are well able to read English writing." He himself was the father of English prose. He was the inspirer of the first history in English. He was known as "the protector of the poor." He sought as his tools "men of prayer, men of war, and men of work." J. R. Green says of him : "He is the first instance in the history of Christendom of the Christian King." If ever there was an earthly ruler who strove to rule simply and solely as executant of the Will of Christ, that man was Alfred ; and the vast good he wrought for England and the world was veritably the work of the ever living Unseen Lord.

The bringing of Swedish society under the influence of Christ was begun in 829 by Ansgar, a monk born near Amiens (in 801). The king gave him leave to preach and he won some powerful adherents during his stay of a year and a half. Later he sent Bishop Gautbert and, years afterwards, the hermit Ardgard, who succeeded in his mission but returned in the following year. So Ansgar himself went in 853, and during his stay of a year, a national assembly of Gothenland voted for the adoption of Christianity. These fugitive visits—really more like raids than occupations—bore their fruit in 993 when the first Christian king ascended

TRIUMPH OF FEUDALISM AND PAPACY

the throne in the person of Olaf Scotkonung. His heathen subjects passed a decree that the king "should not use force to make any of the people give up a worship of the gods, and only admit such as wished of their own free will to be converted to Christ." To this admirable Christian principle, uttered by heathen lips, the Christian king heartily assented. A later and less wise king, Inge by name, tried to impose baptism by force, but was compelled to abdicate. This abortive effort at compulsion is said to stand almost alone in the conversion of Sweden. Sweden was evangelized by purely peaceful methods.

A glaring contrast is offered in the Christianization of Norway. King Olaf, baptized in the Scilly Isles, confirmed in England before King Ethelred, set about converting his subjects by sheer force. He was, says C. H. Robinson, "one of the most intolerant and unChristian defenders of the Christian faith which the history of the Middle Ages can produce." The work so ruthlessly begun was carried out with equal vigour by Olaf Haraldson, king in 1015 and later "Saint Olaf." Systematically and by force he made Norway Christian. Nevertheless the new faith was made to leaven the social arrangements of Norwegian life. Olaf's laws aimed at adapting Christianity to the old usages. Formerly at the meeting of a Thing, a slave was offered up a sacrifice : now a slave was to be set free ; and every Christmas henceforth should see a slave freed. And

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

Adam of Bremen witnesses, “ After they received Christianity, being imbued with fuller knowledge, they have now learned to love peace and truth and to be content in their poverty. . . . In many places in Norway and Sweden those who tend the flocks are men even of the most noble rank, who live by the work of their hands.” Here indeed was a marvellous social transformation, with most salutary results for the whole of Europe : the Norsemen who had relieved their poverty by pirate raids on the wealthier lands of the South, who had swept with fire and sword up the rivers of Britain, France and Germany, and made the Mediterranean coasts tremble at their plundering prowess, now settled down “ content in their poverty,” to live in peace and work with their own hands ! A result all the more astounding because the outcome of forcible conversion ! Perhaps the Olafs knew their Norwegians better than we.

In Russia the New Influence made its way solely by means of peaceful persuasion. Vladimir, king in Kieff, was approached in 986, so the story goes, by Moslem, Roman, Jew, Greek, each one urging the adoption of his particular faith. The king convened a council of his boyars and after consultation agreed to send envoys to see and report how the several cults appeared in their own lands. The envoys, conducted by the Emperor Basil to the service in St. Sophia at Constantinople, were won for the Greek faith. Convinced by this study in

TRIUMPH OF FEUDALISM AND PAPACY

“comparative religion,” Vladimir was baptized according to the rites of the Greek Church at Kherson Cathedral in 988, and was given in marriage the Emperor’s daughter. So Christianity was introduced into his realm. Vladimir used no force to compel conversion. The only force he used—a sign of what the new faith was doing for education and with quite a hint of modern methods about it—was to compel children to attend the schools he opened. This step seems to have outraged the maternal sentiment of those days, for on their children being forced to go to school, “their mothers lamented for them as for the dead !” When “Saint” Vladimir died (1015) most of his subjects were Christians. A successor of his, Yaroslav the Great (d. 1054), built churches, planted clergy in his chief towns to instruct the people, and had the Scriptures translated into Slavonic from the Greek ; himself copying out the new version many times with his own royal hands.

Unlike what took place in lands previously evangelized, neither in Sweden nor Norway nor Russia were monasteries prime agents in conversion. The first Swedish monastery was founded in 1143, 300 years after Ansgar’s first visit. In Norway the monasteries came later with their schools, and introduced the Roman alphabet for the old Runic letters. In Russia a monastery was established in Kieff in 1010.

The social transformation of Hungary is one of

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

the most astounding achievements of the Christian faith. At the beginning of the tenth century, the Magyars, a savage heathen people, swept into what is now known as Hungary, and from that region as base, poured in devastating hordes over most of Central Europe, penetrating as far as Constantinople on the East, on the South to the extremity of Italy, and on the West even crossing the Rhine to plunder Lorraine. But the captives they tore away from their Christian homes began to influence their ruthless masters, teaching the rudiments of civilization and of the Christian faith. In 971, Bishop Pilgrim of Passau visited Hungary and reported to Pope Benedict that "about 5,000 of the Hungarians of noble birth of either sex had been imbued with the Catholic faith and washed with the sacred ablution," and that the whole nation was ready to receive the holy faith. Certain Dukes had wavered between the Byzantine and the Roman religions, but the final choice was for Rome. In 997 the great Stephen began to reign. Four years later Pope Silvester II. acknowledged him as King of Hungary and sent him the kingly crown ; and until his death in 1038 Stephen was worthy of the new honour and the new trust. "Under him"—such is the testimony of Professor Vambéry—"and through his exertions, the Hungarians became a Western nation. Never was a change of such magnitude, and we may add, such a Providential change, accomplished in so short a time and with so little bloodshed, and with

TRIUMPH OF FEUDALISM AND PAPACY

such success.” St. Stephen divided his realm into dioceses, and under his fostering care towns sprang up around the bishops’ sees. But the Benedictine monks were the chief colonizers. They “cleared the forests, cultivated the recovered land, and built villages for the colonists who flocked to them, teaching the people western methods of agriculture and western arts and handicrafts.”

All these extensions of the Christian society were inspired by one great idea which stands out in marked contrast to the distractions and divisions and dissensions of the period. In the words of Giercke :

“In all the centuries of the Middle Age, Christendom, which in destiny is identical with mankind, is set before us as a single universal Community, founded and governed by God Himself. Mankind is one ‘mystical body’; it is one single and internally connected ‘people’ or ‘folk’; it is an all-embracing corporation which constitutes that universal Realm, spiritual and temporal, which may be called the Universal Church, or with equal propriety, the Commonwealth of the Human Race. . . . Then, however, . . . an unchangeable decree of the Divine law seems to have commanded that, corresponding to the doubleness of man’s nature and destiny, there must be two separate orders”—

known historically as Church and State. But in this dualism, the mediæval mind could not rest. It sought a higher unity. This the high churchmen found in the sovereignty of the Church and the

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

subordination of the civil power. Their opponents held the older theory, that Church and State were two co-ordinate powers, neither derived from the other, and they found the reconciling unity in the Headship of Christ, or in their internal connection and mutual support. The divergence in theory, thus stated by Giercke, worked itself out in the long and tragic conflict between Empire and Papacy.

When the imposing unity centred in Charles the Great disappeared with his commanding personality, the Church stepped in and tried to fill the gap. So Louis the Pious in 833 and Lothar in 842 were deposed by their bishops. Then Nicholas I., fortified by the now appearing False Decretals with their assertion of the absolute sovereignty of the Pope, claimed to exercise a world-autocracy (858–867). In place of a Christendom united around the Emperor, Nicholas set up a Christendom united around the Pope. But on his death the Papacy sank into selfish absorption concerning the safety of the States of the Church, and into the lowest moral abasement. From this abyss of infamy, in which the clergy throughout Europe was too deeply immersed, the Church was extricated by—the Empire! Henry III. of Germany (1039–1056), said to be a ‘man of deep sincere and even rigorous piety,’ began by reforming the morals of his own clergy, then marched into Italy, deposed three rival Popes, put a German Pope on the throne who crowned him Emperor, and afterwards arranged for

TRIUMPH OF FEUDALISM AND PAPACY

the appointment of three German Popes in succession. So the Emperor reformed the Papacy. In 1059 the power of electing the Pope was vested in the College of Cardinals, being thus taken out of the hands of secular authorities, Roman or German.

But it was the Italian monk HILDEBRAND, Pope in 1073 under the title of Gregory VII., who determined to make the Papacy, thus reformed, absolutely sovereign over every earthly rule, temporal as well as spiritual. He began by dealing heavy blows against the Home and the State. Earlier laws and pronouncements in favour of a celibate priesthood he drastically enforced, by depriving the married clergy of their incomes, and by bidding laymen not to accept their services. The celibacy which Jesus allowed to individual choice was now made compulsory for the whole order of Western priesthood. From the standpoint of social morality, this was a most serious step. It declared that the highest spiritual service was incompatible with family life. It thus lowered the dignity and sanctity of marriage. And its practical consequences, in clerical concubinage and episcopal dispensations for the same, involved a sad deterioration in the general social standard.

Simony, or the purchase of spiritual office by material payments, was widely practised. Bishops confessed in open synod to having bought their office. The prevalence of this vice was attributed to lay patronage or investiture by laymen. Hildebrand

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

availed himself of the general abhorrence of simony, not merely to forbid it and to annul every simoniacial consecration, but also to abolish all investiture by laymen. This meant the removal of every priestly office and property from secular control. More than half of the land of Germany belonged to the Church, and in most Christian countries the Church was the largest landowner. The Pope's decree therefore involved the bringing of an immense proportion of the land of Christendom, with all the powers therein implied, under the control of the clergy alone, and through them, of the Pope. Kings and nobles could no longer have any say in the appointment of prelates. The Pope would practically become monarch in every land of much if not the greater part of the territory. This would be the end of national unity. If attained it could only end as Hildebrand intended it should end, in the absolute ownership of all land by the spiritual power. Such temporal power as remained could only exercise its strictly subordinate functions under ultimate control by the Papacy. At the same time Cluny was organizing the monks of Europe as one order or army subject under its one abbot to the Pope. Events seemed to favour Hildebrand's dream.

Henry IV., now monarch of Germany, could not tolerate such encroachment on his royal prerogatives, and at a synod of German bishops deposed the Pope. He was in turn excommunicated (1076). His mutinous nobles threatened to depose him, if the

TRIUMPH OF FEUDALISM AND PAPACY

excommunication were not removed within a year. To maintain his position in Germany, Henry went to Canossa, did penance before the Pope, and secured his immediate end—absolution. But the dramatic spectacle of the Emperor humiliating himself before the Pope made Canossa a symbol in the imagination of men for the triumph of the Papacy. That impression was not removed by Henry's subsequent military victories, his appointment of another Pope who crowned him Emperor in Rome, and Hildebrand's death in exile (1085). With the ideal of Hildebrand—the world one State under the spiritual sway of Christ—no Christian can refuse sympathy ; but the efforts he made to realize this world-unity shattered for ages the unity of Germany and Italy.

The seismic shock given to the mediæval mind by Hildebrand's two excommunications of Henry flung up much polemic, in which some revolutionary and almost modern political theories were liberated. In defence of the Pope's absolving the king's subjects from their allegiance, Manegold of Lautenbach propounded a theory which seems a far away anticipation of the Social Contract.

"The king, according to him, was an official elected by the people to protect them from domestic disorder and from foreign oppression. So long as he ruled well, thus fulfilling the conditions of his election, they were bound to him by fealty ; but as soon as he abused his power he lost his office, and set them free from their allegiance. They could

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

then without any breach of faith, choose another man to take his place. Such a theory of popular sovereignty left little room for the Pope's action ; in fact Manegold allowed him only the duty of proclaiming the invalidity of their oaths to the people.”*

Humbler efforts were being made meanwhile to limit the ravages of WAR which is the extreme contradiction of unity. “The Peace of the Church,” or as it was later called, “the Peace of God,” was first commended in 990 by the synods of Charroux, Narbonne and Puy, was endorsed by the order of Cluny, and was generally adopted in the North of France and in Burgundy. A diocesan militia was enrolled to observe and enforce it : every Christian over fifteen years of age was required at the Council of Bourges (1038) to take the oath of enlistment in this militia. The terms of the Peace forbade private war, violence to non-combatants—clergy, women, peasants, pilgrims, merchants—to church premises and precincts, under penalty of excommunication. A kindred mitigation, known as the Truce of God, a prohibition of private war within specified times, began at the synod of Elne (1027) with what might be known in modern phrase as a week-end holiday, no private war being allowed between Saturday noon and Monday morning. It was soon extended from Wednesday evening to Monday morning, and covered also Lent and

* M. T. Stead, *English Historical Review*, January, 1914.

TRIUMPH OF FEUDALISM AND PAPACY

Advent and other holy days. It was adopted throughout France, Piedmont, Lombardy and Flanders, and in 1085 at a synod at Mainz, with Henry IV. present, over the whole Empire.

The DRAMA which had perished East and West under the weight of its own corruptions and the heavy censure of the Church was revived in this period. Strange to say, it had its birth in a nunnery, and the first dramatist of the new Germanic world was a nun. Roswitha (*Hrosvitha* or *Hrotsuit*) lived in the Benedictine convent of Gandersheim (in what is now Brunswick) during the second half of the tenth century. As there was much in the widely read plays of Terence which made her blush, she wrote Latin dramas in his style but with very different content. Her six comedies were all sex-plays, being a glorification of virginity amid all temptations and persecutions. Two display a truly Christian pity for the fallen : in one, a monk Abraham recovers his niece from the house of ill-fame to which she has sunk and restores her to her former monastic life ; in another, a notorious courtezan, of the most fascinating charms, is visited by a monk Paphnutius, and won back to three years of cruel penance and a happy death.

PERIOD VII

THE CRUSADES AND THE AUTOCRAT OF CHRISTENDOM : A.D. 1085-1216

Reaction against the Turk. First Crusades, Failure on Failure. Templars and Hospitallers. Chivalry. Who initiated the Crusades? The Chivalry of Jesus. Cistercians—in Agriculture. St. BERNARD, "Super-Pope." Growth of Towns: Schools of Freedom. Gilds. Rise of Universities. Architecture, Social Origin and Effects. Pomeranian "Conversion." ARNOLD of Brescia, Social Reformer, Founder of Republic at Rome, Saint and Prophet. St. FRANCIS of Assisi, his Mandate, Investiture, Rule, Propaganda, Enormous and Lasting Social Influence. St. Dominic. INNOCENT III., John of England and Magna Carta. Papal Autocracy at the Bar of Christ.

THE Crusades, which roll to and fro in our seventh period, form one of the most remarkable social movements of history; and have left a rich deposit in the most varied and far-spread social results. The facts may be simply stated. The Crusades are the reaction of Christendom against the advancing Turk. Already in 1073 the Pope Hildebrand had received from the Emperor of Constantinople an urgent request for help from the Western nations to repel the Seljuk Turks, who had wrested Jerusalem from Egypt and had extended their conquests to the Bosphorus itself. The Pope prepared to respond, and gathered an army to win back Asia Minor to the Byzantine Empire and to reunite the Eastern and Western Churches. The

THE CRUSADES AND THE AUTOCRAT

struggle with the German Emperor over the question of investitures diverted Gregory from this enterprise. The same appeal was made to Urban II. Urban resolved to make his first objective the recovery of Jerusalem, his second, the recovery of Asia Minor. So at Clermont, on the 26th of November, 1095, he launched the First Crusade. He proclaimed it as a holy war, a pilgrimage of penance, a "new kind of salvation," with full absolution to every Crusader and the merit of martyrdom to those who fell. His appeal roused throughout France and Italy a revivalistic passion of response. "*Deus vult*" ("It is the Will of God") was the cry that swept all classes into the expedition. "The poor," led by Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless, were the first to move. As they marched eastward, they perished at the hands of the Hungarians, or of the Bulgarians, or finally by the sword of the Turk in Asia Minor. Later came a great host of the knights, estimated variously at 600,000, 300,000 and 120,000, who after many victories, much mutual bickering, and frightful bloodshed, succeeded in capturing Jerusalem (1099), and set up the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem, which covered most of Palestine and lasted till 1187. When in 1145 Pope Eugenius II. heard that Edessa, the strong Northern buttress of the kingdom, had been taken by the Turk, he insisted on St. Bernard espousing the cause of a Second Crusade : the Kings of France and Germany joined and led their forces to the East ; only to fail. 1187

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

saw the final fall of Jerusalem into the hands of the Moslems. The shock of horror which passed through Christendom brought Philip of France, Frederic Barbarossa and Richard Cœur de Lion at the head of their national forces to attempt the Third Crusade, which gained some concessions from the Saracen King, but was in the main another failure (1189–1192). Innocent III. started in 1202 a Fourth Crusade, which was intended to proceed by way of Egypt to the old objective. Unexpectedly, it was diverted to Constantinople, which was captured and a Latin Empire established there (1204–1261). It had thus brought all Christendom under the sway of the Pope, but, as a Crusade, it was frustrate. These repeated failures to attain the main purpose must not be allowed to blind us to the by-products. The Crusades produced great military-religious orders. The Templars were a democratic and international body, subject only to the Pope, and by reason of the immense wealth bestowed upon them became the pioneer international bankers of the world. Possibly it was this wealth which led the French King to secure their suppression (in 1312). The Knights Hospitallers did for Christendom then what the Geneva Red Cross tries now to do for all nations. Its humane and international character, under the sole direction of the Pope, also made for the unity of Christendom. The Teutonic Knights performed their service eventually on the Prussian marches. Through the Crusades, the life of the

THE CRUSADES AND THE AUTOCRAT

world has been enriched with the idea of CHIVALRY. It may have been a somewhat fantastic code of courtesy practised—very imperfectly—within one class ; but as refined and idealized through the centuries, it has become a very precious possession of the human mind. The Crusades opened up new channels of trade, and helped to swell the wealth of the towns, which became in their turn homes of progress and schools of liberty. East and West were certainly brought together : Arab science and Arab translations of Aristotle roused the intellectual life of Europe : the Crusades have even been credited with the rise of the Universities.

How, then, can we relate the Crusades to the social purpose of the Christ ? Dare we think of them as one huge and tragic mistake—a popular delusion, begotten in superstition, cradled in hysteria, baptized in a deluge of blood, exploited by scheming politicians and cunning traders, finally collapsing in disgust, indifference, heart-failure ? Shall we hold up hands of holy horror only, at the thought of the Crusaders riding through streams of human blood in the streets of Jerusalem until they arrive with sobs of utter joy at the Sepulchre of Christ ? Was there not an atom of truth in the aspirations of the holiest men of the time, in the cry of the council at Clermont, in the belief that swept through Christendom, “ It is the Will of God ” ?

Certain factors in this problem were obviously not according to the Will of the Highest : the entirely

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

unwarranted assurance of absolution and salvation to every Crusader, in whose ranks were included, St. Bernard being witness, all the riff-raff and criminal scum of Western Europe : the nationalism of the nations ; the selfish dynastic ambitions of the leaders ; the greed of the competing traders : the exploiting of unctuous professions for sordid ends : the Italianism of the Papacy :—and these things were the chief causes of the failure of the Crusades. Had these disastrous elements been absent or sufficiently held in check, what would not have happened ? United Christendom would have moved with irresistible force upon the Turkish power and would have crushed it beyond recovery ; would have freed Christian pilgrims from annoyance and Christian slaves from bondage : would have probably with consequences of uttermost good for Asia and the world, saved the Mongol hosts, already containing many Christians, from going over as they later did in a body to Islam, and would have obviated the age-long abomination of Turkish rule over Christian peoples.

We are profoundly thankful for the hammer stroke of Charles Martel near Tours, which freed Western Europe from Moslem domination. The slaughter involved in that decisive battle was a small price to pay for Western freedom. The Crusades might have accomplished a similar deliverance for Asia and Europe and Africa, though on a vastly larger scale, if only the disruptive influences manifestly opposed to

THE CRUSADES AND THE AUTOCRAT

the Will of the Christ had been under due control. United Christendom in a few decisive encounters would have broken the fighting force of Islam and would have saved the world from nine centuries of torture for Christian peoples under the sway of the Turk.

Chivalry, as we now understand it, and as a real popular passion, was the creation of Jesus. Willing to endure all suffering for Himself and for the world, He could not stand tamely by while others suffered unjustly. He was the champion of the widow. He was the passionate opponent of wrongs to children. It were better for the aggressor on helpless innocence to be flung with a great millstone round his neck into the depths of the sea. He visited with eternal reprobation those who had merely neglected the least of these His brethren. He drove out with a scourge of small cords the Big Business of His day that dared to desecrate the Temple. The chivalry of Jesus was the very reverse of the weak puling sentiment that faints at the sight of blood and shrinks from strong surgical action. With the Gospels before us we cannot doubt that Jesus would have pronounced it more profitable for the Turk that his power should be broken on land and sea and that he should be brought under the control of United Christendom than that he be allowed to maintain for centuries the very rule of Hell over Christian peoples. But to break the power of the Turk and to bring him under subjection to the sway of humanity was the

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

very essence of the purpose of the Crusades. So far, then, the aim of the Crusades was to do the Will of Jesus. The popular instinct was right. It was the Mandate of the Unseen Leader, which, however obscured, overlaid, perverted or exploited by human sinfulness, inspired the Crusades.*

In an age when true Christianity and its social embodiment were believed to be found only in the cloister, special importance belongs to the further developments of the monastic movement. The order of Cluny had grown immensely strong and rich and luxurious. A desire to return to the stricter observance of the Benedictine Rule led an abbot of Molesme, afterwards known as St. Robert, to start afresh, with twenty monks, at Cîteaux, near Dijon, in 1098. So arose the celebrated order of Cistercians. Under the headship of an Englishman, Stephen Harding, and with the advent of St. Bernard in 1112, the order began to grow rapidly, until at the end of the century it numbered 500 houses. The three successive movements may be thus distinguished : the Benedictine houses were

* That Mandate abides. It is quite conceivable that a true Society of Nations may have to make a Crusade upon some criminal nation or confederacy of criminal nations which meditates or attempts to perpetrate the crime of war. The combined forces of peace-loving humanity may yet have to fulfil the Crusading Mandate and deliver the Holy Land which is not Palestine alone but the whole planet from the ruin wrought by militarist marauders. It was in France, curiously enough, the historic home of the Crusades, that the first national endorsement was won for the formation of an International Police Force at the disposal of the Society of Nations. For that Force represents the Crusading idea.

THE CRUSADES AND THE AUTOCRAT

autonomous and insisted on manual work : the Cluny houses were all combined in one great order governed by the Abbot of Cluny but abandoned manual work : the Cistercians resumed the manual labour of the Benedictines, and while allowing Benedictine Home Rule to each abbey, brought all the houses under the control of a chapter of all the abbots, meeting yearly at Cîteaux, under the presidency of the abbot of Cîteaux, who was also inspector of the abbeys and empowered to bring them all into accord with what obtained at the mother abbey. This advance—from scattered democracies, through a centralized autocracy, to what might be termed federated home rule—was a valuable lesson in politics. Of the reversion to manual work, Dom Butler says :

“ It was as agriculturists and cattle breeders that the Cistercians exercised their chief influence on the progress of civilization in the later middle ages : they were the great farmers of those days, and many of the improvements in the various farming operations were introduced and propagated by them. . . . They depended for their income wholly on the land. This developed an organized system for selling their farm produce, cattle and horses, and notably contributed to the commercial progress of the countries of Western Europe.”

To carry on this combination of agriculture and commerce a large number of lay brothers—simple, uneducated peasants—were employed from the first.

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

" It was by this system of lay brothers," continues Dom Butler, " that the Cistercians were able to play their distinctive part in the progress of European civilization." Furness, Tintern, Fountains Abbeys may remind the Englishman of what they did in architecture. Potent pioneers were they in many spheres of genuine social Christianity.

Greatest of them and chief creator of their greatness was St. BERNARD. He was the son of a baron killed in the First Crusade and of an exemplarily pious mother. His physical constitution was never robust, and suffered sadly from his ascetic privations, but by an iron will was compelled, in spite of frequent sickness and long continued pain, to serve his purpose in this life for 60 years. On attaining to manhood, he persuaded thirty kinsmen and friends to join him in six months' preparation for the monastic life : he forced his married uncle to part from his wife who was frightened into consenting ; and all together they entered the Abbey of Cîteaux. Soon four daughter abbeys were founded, and of one of them, that at Clairvaux, Bernard became abbot. There he intended to spend his days in utter seclusion, absorbed in the narrow and simple duties of the monastery. But he " could not be hid." He was dragged out of obscurity by claim after claim of increasing public importance until he became the dominant personality of Christendom. He settled disputes and obviated wars ; rebuked kings ; persuaded emperors ; called even the Pope to

THE CRUSADES AND THE AUTOCRAT

account ; secured the victory of Innocent II. over a rival Pope ; summoned the nations to the Second Crusade ; was unofficially censor, inspirer, director of the Christian world. He has been well-called a super-Pope. This unequalled eminence was due to his native personal force, to his persuasive eloquence by pen and tongue, to his genius as a statesman, but above all, to his exalted character. It was his close touch with the Unseen Leader which made him with all his gifts the leader of his time. As the very embodiment of the Christian conscience, he commanded the consciences of men and kings and nations. He was not without the weakness of the man who wants to get his own way with men : he could flatter as well as reprove highly-placed evildoers : he could pursue with relentless hatred those whom he thought to be enemies of the truth or of the Church. But his ambitions were always unselfish ; and only rarely were they unsweetened by his marvellous power of loving. And he was consciously, though very humbly, only the agent of the Unseen Lover.

It was well that so gracious a personal influence held sway over the more highly-placed in Europe during this period especially, for it was a time of rapidly thickening and deepening life. Towns were increasing in number and in size and in wealth. City life was foreign to the barbarian tribes as they over-ran the decadent Empire ; and the Roman cities suffered in consequence. The seats of the bishops and metropolitans formed a nucleus round

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

which the people clustered : as we have seen, the mapping out of dioceses and the planting of bishoprics led to towns springing up at the ecclesiastical centres. When the nascent nations had to defend themselves against new aggressors, the boroughs or fortresses naturally occupied the coigns of vantage marked by old Roman camps ; and military reasons demanded the presence of artificers at these posts. The increasing produce required fixed centres of exchange ; and yearly or weekly fairs or markets gathered where fortress or episcopal see stood, or lines of traffic crossed. The cities were generally fostered by the central or royal power in each nation, as a counterpoise to the power of the feudal nobles and as a valuable source of tolls and dues. Yet local lords often held towns as subject. And bishops at first claimed or were later given manorial rights over them. But the special privileges offered by the towns to induce the needed artisans to settle—freedom from serfage, areas of land at low rentals and so forth—drew together a population that was soon able to combine to gain fuller opportunities. They strove to rid themselves as far as possible of feudal and episcopal restrictions and to obtain the rudiments of self-government. By royal or Imperial charter, by purchase or by revolt, they worked towards freedom. They gained a distinct jurisdiction of their own. They became entitled to some form of town council. They provided the training ground and the arena of the struggle for political

THE CRUSADES AND THE AUTOCRAT

liberty. As they grew in wealth and in trade connections, they proved a formidable power, with which potentates of every kind were glad to make terms. The eleventh and the twelfth centuries saw a very rapid multiplication and development of towns. The Cortes of Aragon contained representatives of free towns in 1133 ; that of Castille in 1169 ; and in the Cortes of both the Commons were supreme.

These clusters of municipal life fostered other forms of fellowship. The GILDS which emerge from obscurity in this period were at first religious fraternities, combining the functions of the modern friendly society, mutual loan society, fire insurance company, with prayers for the souls of departed brethren ; later of aiding in the upkeep of schools, roads, and bridges. Probably from this religious nucleus arose the Gild Merchant, with special rights of trading, forming a sort of tradesmen's protection society in the town where it was found. It came to light in the eleventh century and then multiplied exceedingly. It had no small share in shaping the municipal life. In the twelfth century appeared the Craft Gild, which included all the workers in a given industry in a particular town. They watched over the products of the craft to see that they were sound and good, they regulated the hours of labour and the terms of apprenticeship. They also arranged for religious processions, pageants and other festive functions. They too came to have their place in

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

municipal development. Often in collision with the wealthy Gild Merchant, they acquired in the end the dominant power, and tended in turn to assume the monopolistic character. Over all these forms of fellowship, however differing and different, brooded the acknowledged influence of the Christian religion.

The definite formation of the UNIVERSITY at Paris in the latter half of the twelfth century is a reminder of the boon, indefinitely great, which the Church bestowed upon the world in founding and fostering these seats of learning. The one at Paris sprang out of the cathedral school but probably owed its continuance in life to the protection of the Papacy. It was recognized by Innocent III. in 1211. An exodus of English students from Paris about 1168 is said to have formed the University at Oxford. A great crop of Universities sprang up over Western Europe in this period. The seed sown in monastic and chapter schools, quickened by the thirst for knowledge of Roman and Canon law, and by the passion for theology, further fertilized by fresh streams of suggestion from the East, now burst into this academic harvest. The same instinct of association which drove artisans together in the Craft Gild worked in teachers and students as they joined in these democratic Gilds of learning. For democratic they undoubtedly were. Academic qualifications superseded all others. Feudal distinctions were disregarded. So J. R. Green could say : "What the Church and Empire had both aimed at and both failed in—the knitting

THE CRUSADES AND THE AUTOCRAT

of Christian nations together into a vast commonwealth, the Universities for a time actually did."

One of the fairest and perhaps one of the most enduring contributions to the social life of this period was supplied by the genius of Christian ARCHITECTURE. Manifold was the social service rendered by the great structures devoted to the worship of God, which now rose rapidly in all Christian lands. A few dates will show what a glory of efflorescence in the art of the builder marked the period. The cathedral of St. Mark's, Venice, was begun 1063, of Pisa 1063, of Ely 1082, of Gloucester 1089, of Durham 1093, of Canterbury 1096, of Lincoln 1123, of Notre Dame, Paris, 1163, of Laon 1163, of Soissons 1190, of Rheims 1211. Up till 1150 the more massive style, Italian Romanesque, or Norman, prevailed. From that date onward began, with a great outburst of building activity, the transition towards the style that is somewhat arbitrarily called Gothic, marked by greater slenderness and expressive of greater energy. These soaring piles, these "thoughts of worship carved in stone," these homes of infinite aspiration and compelling calm are a permanent enrichment of the human race.

The extension of Christendom in this period was chiefly in the North-East of Germany and the methods of propaganda were often most unChristian. Attempts to make the Wendish kingdom Christian, after partial successes under Gottschalk the king,

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

(killed 1066) failed through the cupidity of rulers and churchmen who exacted heavy imposts ; in the end (1157) Albert the Bear, Margrave of Brandenburg, all but exterminated the Wends, and planted German and Dutch colonies on the depopulated land. In happy contrast, Pomerania was evangelized by Otto, Bishop of Bamberg (d. 1139). Of him C. H. Robinson says ("Conversion of Europe.") :

" Judged by the visible results which accompanied his work, Otto was the most successful missionary in mediæval times, and his success was the more remarkable in view of the fact that he was never able to speak to the Pomeranians in their own language, but had to rely upon the services of interpreters. To his faith and courage and his constant reliance on the power of prayer more than to any political influences, the results he achieved must be attributed."

The demand for a return to evangelic POVERTY had been roused in many breasts by the growing wealth and arrogance of the chief dignitaries of the Church. It found its first vigorous expression in the voice of ARNOLD of Brescia. In early youth he went to Paris and studied under Abelard (1115). Returning to his native Brescia, and taking up the office of canon regular, he won great repute by his ascetic life and wonderful eloquence. He had come to the conclusion that the clergy ought to go back to the primitive poverty of Galilean days. His teaching has been summed up in the sentence : " Clerks who

THE CRUSADES AND THE AUTOCRAT

have estates, bishops who hold fiefs, monks who possess property, cannot be saved." The struggle between Anacletus and Innocent II. for the Papal throne gave Arnold the opportunity of rousing the people with his magic of oratory against their bishop. Innocent, victorious, banished Arnold from Italy. Arnold went back to Paris and there continued his polemic against plutocratic priest and monk. It naturally raised up against him powerful enemies. He had denounced the great Bernard himself for pride and jealousy, and won his undying hatred. The Saint got Arnold condemned along with Abelard at the Council of Sens (1140) and called on the French King to deal with him. Arnold escaped to Zürich and there preached as before with undismayed audacity. A singular charm of manner was combined with his great power of oratory, and he soon made powerful friends among the laity. But the tireless Bernard insisted on the Bishop of Constance driving him out of the diocese. Arnold was handed over to the Papal legate Guido, with whom he soon became an honoured guest, respected for his virtue, his eloquence and his social fascination. In 1143 the people of Rome had risen against the Pope Eugenius III. and driven him into exile ; and a Roman republic was established once more under the ancient forms. Arnold joined the two-year-old republic in 1145 and reinforced its hold on the people by his burning rhetoric. He was especially severe on the Roman clergy and de-

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

nounced the Papal Court in the words Jesus used of the Temple, as “a house of merchandise and den of thieves.” The Republic maintained a precarious life till 1155 when Adrian IV.—Nicholas Break-spear, the only Englishman who was ever Pope—broke it by interdict on Rome. The senate yielded and after twelve years in Rome Arnold had to flee from the city. He was captured by a Campanian noble, but here again his singular personal charm asserted itself, and his captor became his friend. Frederic Barbarossa having arrived with his German army, and desiring to be crowned Emperor by the Pope, obliged Adrian by securing the person of the obnoxious Arnold and ordering his execution. Arnold refused to renounce his doctrine, and after silently confessing his sins and commanding himself to Christ, he was hanged. His very executioners were moved to tears. And in such deep reverence was he held by the common people that, to prevent them treasuring the relics of this saint and prophet as they regarded him, his remains were burned and the ashes cast into the Tiber. Arnold was undoubtedly a soul of the prophetic type, with the prophet’s utter disregard of worldly chances and risks, but with a sweetness of fascination which seldom appears in the prophet. His lofty character is admitted by his enemies. No flaw of heresy has been found in him save the utterly unforgivable heresy of attacking the wealth of the clergy. He was the pioneer in a long line of what may be termed

THE CRUSADES AND THE AUTOCRAT

the economic reformers of the Church : would that they had all had his spotless record !

Barely a quarter of a century after Arnold's death was born an Apostle of Poverty far more illustrious and potent than he. He was baptized by the name of John, but, saint though he became, he is never known by the name he received at the font. His father, a wealthy merchant, away in France when the boy was born, and enamoured of things French, insisted on calling him "Frenchman"—Francesco—FRANCIS. The father's whim and the son's fame gave a name to the world that kings were soon proud to wear and that lies close for ever to the heart of man. St. Francis has been the perpetual inspiration of social Christianity, and probably never so universally felt as in this social age. As we trace his life, we find ourselves hushed and awed as in the very presence of Christ, touched with His ineffable sweetness, and aglow with His radiance. Voluntary poverty loses its grimness under the spell of the lesser Brother. The very austerity of self-sacrifice is haloed with the glamour of his exquisite personal charm.

Born in or about 1128, he grew up to be a very gallant youth, generous in his gaiety, the prince of revellers, but always tender to the poor. When twenty, he fought for the people against the nobles whom Perugia befriended, was taken prisoner and lay in captivity for a year. Two illnesses were followed by the great change which ended his

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

frivolities, sent him into frequent solitude for prayer, and made him an enthusiast in the service of the poor—and above all, of the leper. Renouncing his father's house, refusing all wealth, passionately in love with the fair lady Poverty, clad in rough garb, and working or begging his way, he felt himself drawn nearer and nearer to the heart of the Crucified. How the silence was at last broken, in the old crumbling church of St. Damian, let Father Cuthbert relate:

“ He went and prayed before the altar. Suddenly he heard a voice, as it seemed to him from the crucifix. ‘ Francis,’ it said, ‘ go and repair My Church which as thou seest is wholly a ruin.’ At hearing the voice Francis was at first startled and terrified ; then he became conscious that it was his Lord who spoke to him. . . . Jesus Christ for whose word he had waited, had spoken. . . . In abashed astonishment he replied, ‘ Gladly, Lord, will I repair it.’ And then he felt a marvellous love for the Crucified Christ take possession of him . . . and he knew that for the sake of Him he would willingly perform any service even to the death.”

After repairing three deserted churches,

“ again Francis was awaiting the command of the Lord. . . . It came to him at the Portiuncula. . . . It was the feast of St. Mathias. . . . the priest was saying mass, and the Gospel which the priest read was this : ‘ Get you no gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses ; no wallet for your journey,’ etc. (Mat. x. 7-19). . . . To-day the words were like the sudden breaking of bonds. . . . Then Francis

THE CRUSADES AND THE AUTOCRAT

exclaimed, ‘ This is what I have been seeking : this is what my heart yearns for.’ He immediately put off his shoes and laid aside his staff and divested himself of his second garment . . . and he girded himself with a rope. To him it was his solemn investiture as a Knight of Christ.”

Here, as in the case of Antony centuries before, the dint of the ancient words on the conscience of the hearer carried the conviction that this was a direct message from the Unseen Leader.

When Barnard da Quintavalle had announced his intention of giving up all his wealth for the love of Jesus Christ, to be distributed as Francis willed, Francis took him and another associate named Peter to the church of St. Nicholas, where “ the book of the Gospels lay near the altar that all might read who cared.”

“ Francis knelt before the altar and prayed God to show them His will in the opening of the book. Then he took the book and opened it and his eyes fell upon this passage : ‘ If thou wouldest be perfect, go sell all that thou hast and give to the poor and thou shalt have treasure in Heaven ; and come, follow Me ’ (Mat. xix. 21). A second time he opened the book and read : ‘ Take nothing for your journey,’ etc. (Luk. ix. 3) . . . Opening the book a third time he came upon St. Matthew’s Gospel at these words : ‘ If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow Me ’ (Mat. xvi. 24). Francis returned gleefully to his companions : ‘ Brothers ’ he exclaimed, ‘ this is

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

our life and rule for ourselves and for all who will join our company.' ”

Who that believes at all will dare to doubt that the prayer of Francis was answered and that he was guided to the three passages which became the Rule of his order ? As he wrote in his will, “ No one showed me what I ought to do, but the Most High Himself revealed to me that I ought to live according to the form of the Holy Gospel.” These three scenes, at St. Damian’s, at Portiuncula, and at St. Nicholas, mark the transmission of the Unseen Initiative into human history. They cannot be set down as mere accidents ; they began the movement which revivified Western Europe ; they show the living Christ at work making and remaking history.

St. Francis began his tours of propaganda with eight disciples. As he sent them forth, “ he reminded them that they were called unto this manner of life, not for their sakes alone, but for the saving of the world.” It was no sanctified selfishness which inspired these evangelists ; they went out not as self-savers, but as world-savers. They went moreover, with no other authorization than the direct mandate of Christ. Later, as the movement grew, Francis, accompanied by twelve of his disciples, approached the Pope, the great Innocent III., and secured from him, after much Papal hesitation, tentative approval (1210). Two years later, also without ecclesiastical authority, Francis received the girl afterwards known as St. Clare and made her the

THE CRUSADES AND THE AUTOCRAT

head of an order of nuns. The relations between Francis and Clare form a beautiful picture of the deep friendship between man and woman, altogether without thought of wedlock, which is one of the most precious gifts of Jesus Christ to the human race. It added another to the many ideal chords that make up the music of St. Francis' life. Yet all this variegated genius and charm was rooted in a deep experience that was one of identity, rather than mere sympathy, with the Crucified, of which the appearance of the stigmata in his own body was the most wonderful proof. This Christ-filled soul breathed new and creative influence into the literature, art, politics, and education of Europe : inaugurated a new era in the upward movement of humanity. In him the Unseen Lover showed what He can do when He finds a man who will follow Him at all risks and costs and in the joy of overflowing love. He was one of the greatest Social Creators used by Christ to effect His will.

Another order of Friars arose, contemporary, but offering marked contrasts with the Franciscan. Francis was an Italian. Dominic was a Spaniard. Francis had no more than a lay education. Dominic was a trained theologian. Francis was never more than a deacon. Dominic was a Canon. Dominic's great work was in combating heresy. Francis' was that of loving all men into a better life. Born in 1170, Dominic's chief task was given him in 1205 after academic and cathedral life, when Innocent III.

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

sent him to preach in Languedoc among and against the Albigenses. He established in 1206 a nunnery for converts from heresy, the beginning of his Dominicanesses. Of those who had joined him in preaching in Languedoc he formed the nucleus of the preaching friars, an order by which he aimed to evangelize the world. In some matters he consciously imitated the Franciscans. He laid great stress on influencing university life, and aimed at planting a Dominican House at each seat of learning. In 1215 he invoked Papal sanction for his order.

Towards the close of this period, the movement towards international unity received its most substantial, and at the same time spectacular triumph. Practically the whole of Christendom was united under the spiritual autocracy of Innocent III. And this spiritual sway was turned by the masterful Pope, in almost every case but that of France, into a veritable feudal overlordship. The Empire had capitulated ; Frederick II. had done homage to the Pope. The unexpected issue of the Fourth Crusade, in the Latin Empire at Constantinople brought the Byzantine dominion as a fief to the stool of St. Peter. And by the weapon of the Interdict Innocent forced King John to his knees, receiving England from him and returning it as the fief of a vassal king. By these tremendous victories East and West, the Pope became actual monarch of Europe. In imposing Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury on an unwilling England, he builded better than he knew ;

THE CRUSADES AND THE AUTOCRAT

for the Great Charter was virtually drafted by Langton, who, in defiance of papal threats, stood by the people of England in their struggle, and at their head extorted John's reluctant signature to the historic document of English freedom. Innocent's attempt to coerce the English barons failed. To the mediæval Church, through the Papacy, England owes Stephen Langton, and through this Archbishop of Canterbury, owes the Magna Carta. And it was from the King broken by the Pope, that this priceless weapon of social progress was wrested. On the whole Innocent's tremendous power was used for good. He proclaimed the Holy War against the Albigenses, but deplored and strove to mitigate the excesses perpetrated by Simon de Montfort. He nobly vindicated the sanctity of Christian marriage by compelling the French King Philip Augustus to take back Ingeborg whom he had illegally divorced. He prevented Peter of Aragon's proposed marriage with Bianca. He even annulled the marriage of Alphonso of Leon with the high-souled Berengaria, because within the prohibited degrees. Mistaken in some respects, he filled the throne of a united Christendom with a credit that most monarchs might envy. And in the nascent orders of Dominic and Francis he had spiritual armies ready to overrun all lands at his bidding.

How does this autocracy of Christendom appear at the bar of Christ? Eliminating, as in the case of the Crusades, the elements that were obviously

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

opposed to the mind of Christ, do we not find here, veritably realized in history, the prophetic idea of many if not "all nations, peoples and languages" united in one realm, and standing at the head of it a Vicar of Christ, whose ultimate power was only spiritual, however much overlaid with feudal and secular embarrassments, and one whose authority the Christly Francis acknowledged and obeyed? May we not suppose that to a like human authority a true League of Nations might lead us? It is our hope that all peoples, nations and languages, accepting the Christian idea of the World One State, will be gathered under a President who shall be to the United States of the World, what George Washington was to the United States of America. Would we not welcome him as the official exponent of the world's Will to Peace, the world's passion for health, the world's desire for proper conditions of Labour, and the world's chivalry? And would we not gladly see him as the uncrowned head of the federated democracies of the world, wield his exceptional powers? In so doing his power would be broad based upon the will of the associated peoples of the world, and not upon the temporary, precarious, and often illogical tenure of Innocent's autocracy. Yet the ideal which Innocent sought to realize was—however unfortunate, dubious, or even wicked the means employed—part of the great Evangelic ideal of the Kingdom of God. Innocent made a splendid effort to make real one thought of Jesus,

PERIOD VIII

THE SWAY OF THE FRIARS : A.D. 1216-1384

Movement Downwards: Contact with Common Folk; Reactions. Friars in Universities. St. Bonaventura. Robert Grosseteste. SIMON DE MONTFORT swayed by Franciscan Impulses: Creator of English Parliament, Hero and Saint. Roger Bacon. THOMAS AQUINAS, his Social Teaching. CATHERINE of Siena, Saint and Statesman, her Companions. The Inquisition. St. LOUIS, Peace-maker in France, Municipal Reformer, his *filles-Dieu*. Cleavage between the Orders. MARSILIUS of RADUA. Social Effect of GUNPOWDER. The Black Death. RIENZI, Tribune of Christian Revolution at Rome, his Reign of Justice. Swiss Peasants Victorious. The Jacquerie. English Peasants' Revolt. JOHN WICLIF, his "Divine Dominion," his Breach with Rome, his English Bible. Cities in Ferment. Decline of the Papacy. Dante. A Period of POPULARIZATION.

THE years between the death of Innocent III. and the death of John Wiclif are marked by a rapid transition downwards in the social scale. The centre of gravity is moved from the nobility to the people, both in act and in thought. From the high theories of an absolute autocracy, wielded by Pope or Emperor, the stream of speculation descends bound upon bound to the principles which lie at the base of modern democracy and to the impulses which inspire modern socialism. For this vast swing of Christendom in the popular direction there were many conditions military and economic. But for the chief personal source we must look to the Little Brother of Assisi who obeyed the imperious

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

instinct of the highest up to "stoop to the lowest down." It was the passion of St. Francis for "the least of these" which set in motion the tide of thought and feeling which invested the common people with a new value in their own eyes and in the eyes of the world at large. It was the Franciscan movement and its companion and competitor the Dominican movement which swept among the masses with transforming power. The Friars overran Europe. Wherever they went they brought to the common people the glad news of equal brotherhood in the following of the Great Sufferer who was yet the Great Inspirer of joy. Their preaching, in market, and street, and village green, *popularized* Christianity as it had not been popularized for generations. Their charities, carried to the succour of the lowest and most wretched and despised members of the community, were a new assertion of the old faith that the mere human being as human is of infinite worth in the sight of God. This fresh contact with the common people largest in number and lowest in grade produced now as ever a most beneficent reaction on the whole of society. It soon reached the Universities. The Dominicans, ever cherishing their aim of combating heresy and teaching the truth, were soon in possession of the most noted chairs. The Franciscans were not long behind them in planting themselves in the chief seats of learning. The Universities resented at first these new invaders. But it was not long before the

THE SWAY OF THE FRIARS, 1216-1384

Friars were firmly established in their academic eminence.

The most noted of all the Franciscan theologians was St. Bonaventura. As a sick child of three years he is said to have been healed by the prayer of St. Francis, in answer to the request of his mother ; and the life he owed in infancy to the great Assisan, he consecrated from his youth upwards to the Franciscan order. He became the chief Franciscan in the University of Paris, and general of the whole order. As befitted the follower of St. Francis, he set the heart above the head in the manner of coming into union with God. He held that theology was a practical science. He was thus not merely the great system builder, as his voluminous works attest ; he was an organizer of humane service. He founded the Confraternity of the Holy Standard, the aims of which have been thus summarized : “Prayer, fasting, alms-deeds : the promotion of peace and harmony among citizens—then so fiercely given to feuds of civic politics ; the procuring of dowries for destitute girls ; voluntary service to hospitals ; and, perhaps chiefly, the ransom of captives from the tyranny of the Saracens.” He was a frequent visitor and adviser at the court of St. Louis. His general character, as well as the stress which his theology laid upon the affections, gave every support to his title the “Doctor Seraphic.” His compeers found in him no taint of Adam’s fall.

In England the Franciscan influence led to events

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

of world-shaping importance. Robert Grosseteste (about 1175-1253) born of lowly Suffolk stock, rose to be first rector of the Franciscan School at Oxford, Chancellor of the University, and Bishop of Lincoln. At first he was champion of the Papal claims against the Royal ; but later stood for the rights of the Bishop against the encroachments of the Pope. His chief academic preoccupation was, not with scholastic theology, but with natural science : his continuator and pupil was Roger Bacon. Through another Franciscan pupil, Adam Marsh, he set a-going notable currents of thought and purpose in the political sphere. Marsh was consulted by many of the chief actors in the public life of England, and was spiritual director of SIMON DE MONTFORT. He brought Simon into touch with Grosseteste ; and the character of the great English statesman was largely influenced by these two Franciscans. Creighton considers the Earl to have been actuated in his memorable public acts by Franciscan principles. The Chronicle of Rishanger pronounces him to be “the perfect disciple of a perfect master, inasmuch as he clung with a hearty affection to the blessed Robert, once Bishop of Lincoln. . . . And the said Bishop is related to have enjoined upon the Earl, for the remission of his sins, that he should take upon himself that cause for which he fought even unto death.” Inspired by these lofty religious motives, the Earl drew his sword in defence of the liberties of the English people against the tyrannous King and

THE SWAY OF THE FRIARS, 1216-1384

his foreign advisers. He diffused the same spirit through the barons who fought under him. "They trusted their cause" says Creighton, "to the judgment of God and were inspired with a deep religious zeal that reminds us of the Puritans of later days." The battle of Lewes, May 14th, 1264, stands out in history as the decisive conflict which ensured the establishment of the English Parliament, as the world has since known it. The spirit in which the victors entered on the fray was worthy of the far-reaching consequences for freedom and for faith. The Earl spent the night before the battle in prayer. In the morning the whole army flung itself on the ground, every man stretching out his arms so as to make the form of a cross, and prayed: "Grant us, O Lord, our desire of a glorious victory to the honour of Thy name." Their prayer was effectively answered.

So fortified by victory, Simon de Montfort proceeded to construct the Parliament. The Great Council of the Realm, as it had been called, had hitherto consisted, in theory, of all tenants-in-chief of the Crown. Mostly only the great barons attended, but in 1254 the minor barons and the freeholders were represented by two knights from each shire called by royal writ to consider (and, as it proved, to refuse) a war-subsidy to the Crown. But, says Prothero, "the Constitution of 1264 is the creation of the genius of Simon de Montfort. . . . So far as it goes it is perfect. . . . The principles on which it rests are almost precisely the same as those of the

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

Constitution under which England has been governed for the last century and a half. . . . It is a purely electoral system. . . . The only absolute and independent will is that of the community. . . .”

The old principle of representation is by Simon explicitly adopted. And along with bishops and abbots, earls and barons, and two knights from every shire, he summoned two burgesses from every borough. So came into being the Parliament of 1265. In August of that year, Simon was defeated and slain, but his cause triumphed. His Constitution was virtually adopted in the reign of Edward I.

The character of Simon was worthy of his place as the martyr of popular freedom. In his private life “beyond reproach,” says Prothero : “a blameless husband, a kind father, a constant friend,—he was the model of a Christian knight and gentleman.” Many popular songs, in Latin, French and English might be quoted to show how the people loved and trusted him. He was not merely a popular hero : he was honoured as a saint. He was, so to speak, canonized by the common people. No fewer than two hundred and twelve miracles are reported to have been wrought by his remains. But nothing that popular devotion ascribed to him equals his distinctive historic deed : the creation of the English Parliament, the significance of which in the progress of popular self-government throughout the world now goes without saying. Wherever demo-

THE SWAY OF THE FRIARS, 1216-1384

cracy prevails to-day and Parliamentary institutions flourish, there is a monument to the Earl of Leicester who fought and died that England might be free. And he was inspired by Franciscan teachers. "The mother of Parliaments" may be described as granddaughter of the Saint of Assisi.

Giotto (1266-1337) is a permanent reminder of the inspiration which St. Francis had given to Art. In physical science the English Franciscans took the lead. Both Marsh and Grosseteste gave more of their energies to science than to theology. The greatest man of science among them all was Roger Bacon (1214-1290). He suffered much for his scientific devotion : he was silenced by Bonaventura, the head of his order, for many years : much later in life his books were condemned by another general of the Franciscans and he was imprisoned for seventeen years. Between these two persecutions, the Pope Clement IV. asked him for a treatise on the sciences. In eighteen months he drew up and sent to the Pope his "Magnum Opus," which Whewell has described as both the *Organum* and *Encyclopædia* of the thirteenth century, and in which the conceptions of science are stated by some modern critics to excel in justice and clearness those of Francis Bacon. His great merit is his exaltation of experimental science, which he calls the Mistress of All Sciences. He turns the mind away from the abstractions and ancient authorities, in which the schoolmen delighted, to the actual verifications afforded by

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

experiment. Here we see the manifest influence of St. Francis. The Saint would get right down to the human facts : he would come into touch with the lowest. And this passionate love of reality in human beings reappears in Roger Bacon's quest after reality in things physical. This great pioneer of modern science, and in consequence, modern science itself, owe no small debt to the Little Poor Man of Assisi.

The Dominican movement proceeded along very different lines. Its initial and dominant aim was to extinguish heresy and establish the official faith. It was the mother of great schoolmen. Albertus Magnus (1193-1280) first rose to eminence. But the greatest Dominican of them all was his pupil St. THOMAS of Aquino. Born of very noble family in 1225, he resolved in his youth to join the order of the Preaching Friars. At this his family, expecting for him, if he did enter the church, some high and wealthy post, were infuriated. His mother appealed to the Pope to intervene and annul his Dominicanism. Thomas assured the Pope that St. Dominic had, with unmistakable voice, called him and he must obey. His brothers then tried imprisonment in their castle and the temptations of a courtesan. But St. Thomas was obdurate and finally was left unmolested. Studying at Strasburg under Albertus, he was dubbed "the great dumb Sicilian ox," until his success in a disputation led the great teacher to explain : "This dumb ox will fill the world with his lowing." Appointed professor in Paris University,

THE SWAY OF THE FRIARS, 1216-1384

though against his will, he obeyed and “begged his way” thither from Cologne. His life was wholly academic; and his supreme contribution to the ages was his Summa (or sum of theology). This is accepted by the Catholic Church to-day as the official utterance of the mind of the church. If it be the case, as Ashby declares, that “faith with Aquinas is always belief in a proposition, not trust in a personal Saviour,” then Thomas never emancipated himself from the Greek idea that virtue was knowledge. But in recording the progress of Social Christianity, our concern must be with his social teaching which still sways the Catholic world.

In government St. Thomas teaches that the end of society is better secured by subjection to a single ruler : the King is as the soul to the body, as God is to the world. But he exists solely for the good of the governed. As a single ruler is best, so a single tyrant is worst. The king can be deposed, if ruling wrongfully, by those who elect him. War is justified by the authority of the ruler, a just cause, a right intent, for a just peace. In economic affairs St. Thomas defends the rights of property : it is lawful for a man to hold things as his own, “strife more frequently arises among those who hold a thing in common and undividedly.” St. Thomas distinguishes between possession and use. “A man ought not to hold exterior things as his own, but as common to all, that he may portion them out readily to others in time of need. Distinction of possessions

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

comes not by natural law but by human convention." "In urgent necessity a man may succour his need by taking the property of another, either openly or secretly, and this is not properly speaking theft." Exchange is natural and necessary in which exchange is made of things for things and money on account of the necessities of life : this is praiseworthy. But the exchange of money for money, or some sort of thing for money not on account of things necessary to life, but for the sake of gain, is justly blamed, since it is a minister to the lust of gain which has no term but tends to infinity. Hence business considered in itself has a certain foulness in so far as it does not imply any honest or necessary end. But commerce may be rendered lawful ; as when one devotes the moderate gain which he seeks in commerce to the sustenance of his house or even to succour the needy or when one is intent on business for the sake of public utility. Usury is plumply forbidden, but a way is found to enable the State to regulate it ; and to enable interest to be paid on other grounds than mere usury. "He who makes a loan can without any sin make agreement with him who accepts the loan, for *compensation* for the loss, by which something is taken away from him which he ought to have, for this is not to sell the use of money, but to avoid injury. . . ."

The Dominicans have also the glory of counting among the members of their third order the greatest woman of this period and "one of the most won-

THE SWAY OF THE FRIARS, 1216-1384

derful women that have ever lived"—St. CATHERINE of Siena. She was born on Lady Day, 1347. She was the 25th child of the same mother and father; he was simply a dyer. She died in 1380. But in these 33 years were compressed a great number of the most unusual social activities. Her childhood was full of intense religious experiences. At six years old she had solemnly wedded herself to Christ. Quite spontaneously she practised again the austeries of the ancient Egyptian hermits. She became a Dominican in her seventeenth year and made a hermitage of her own little room, where she was granted rare visions of the Unseen. Then she took to her family duties, and began to visit the poor and sick. Her fame for sanctity and humanity and "manly" ability and courage spread through the town. She tended the victims of the plague in 1374. Her great public career occupied only the last five years of her life. She was invited to Pisa by its ruler to stir up interest in a projected Crusade and to whip up recruits. She also went to deter the Pisans from joining the anti-Papal Tuscan League. Entirely selfless, and moved as she believed by Christ Himself, she wrote letters to persons of importance in many spheres of life, high and low—urging them to this or that duty; and she went to use her singular personal power on those who could be best thus approached. She was very successful in healing family and civic feuds. She was a statesman of the highest rank and exercised a marvellous and wide-

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

spread influence. Her greatest achievement was to end the "Babylonish Captivity" as it was called, the more than seventy years during which the Popes had lived at Avignon instead of Rome. Dante and Petrarch had essayed this task, but had failed. She succeeded. The Pope sailed from Marseilles to Genoa. At Genoa Catherine met him again and strengthened his resolve to advance to Rome. The troubles he met on his return made him angry with Catherine, who in her turn did not hesitate to rebuke him for his worldly-mindedness. He sent her, nevertheless, such was his faith in her persuasive powers, as his representative, to try and bring the obdurate Florentines to peace with him. While she was on this embassy the Pope died. There was great popular commotion in Florence, and Catherine nearly won the martyrdom she desired, at the hands of a violent mob. She at last brought about peace between Florence and the new Pope, and went back to Siena. At the heart of her far extended influence Catherine had gathered a group of followers, her spiritual family, men and women who shared with her the deepest spiritual intimacies. Here again was a reproduction of the travelling company of Galilee : for they accompanied her on her errands. When an anti-Pope was appointed, Urban called her to Rome to support his cause. She came with her large following and used herself up in promoting his claims in Rome and throughout Europe. Death overtook her while engaged in this colossal task.

THE SWAY OF THE FRIARS, 1216-1384

She left behind a Book of Divine Doctrine dictated by her in trance (as she believed) from the very lips of God. In the whole history of Social Christianity there are few, if any, women to equal Catherine in virile force of will, in purity of aim, in entire freedom from self, in frank faithfulness when dealing with men of all classes, in wide outlook of statesmanship, in the intense affection cherished for the most intimate circle, and above all, in the consciousness of being but the channel of direction from the Unseen Lord. She rose to this world-eminence from a lowly dyer's home, and she was of full age before she learned so much as to write.

The initial interest of St. Dominic and the Dominicans was in the suppression of heresy ; and the grim sequel of this first impulse is shown in the Inquisition officially founded in 1233 and ever since entrusted to the management of Dominicans. The "Holy Office" is the most terrible example of the fatal error which crept into Christendom from ancient Greece—that virtue consists in knowledge, and that right opinion about Jesus is of vastly more importance than reproduction of His character. To maintain what was considered to be right views of Divine Truth the Inquisition flagrantly outraged the laws and spirit of Christ and resorted to methods that were out and out diabolic.

Before we come to the final cleavage between the two orders of Friars it is pleasant to turn back to the time when both Orders enjoyed the most saintly

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

royal patronage. And as the drift towards democracy deepens and swirls, it is refreshing to recall the picture of "the ideal king of the Middle Ages."

St. Louis (1214-1270) was fortunate in his mother, Blanche of Castile, who takes a high place among the governing women of history. As Regent she proved more than a match for the French nobles eager to assert their independence of the royal power. During her son's non-age and during his absence abroad, she kept his realm not merely intact, but for the most of the time entirely at peace. Of the king himself, Dr. Shotwell truly says :

"An accomplished knight, physically strong in spite of his ascetic practices, fearless in battle, heroic in adversity, of imperious temperament, unyielding when sure of the justness of his cause, energetic and firm, he was indeed, 'every inch a king.' He fasted much, loved sermons, regularly heard two masses a day and all the offices, dressing at midnight for masses in his chapel, and surrounded even when he travelled by priests on horseback chanting the hours."

He put "his creed into his deed." He went twice on Crusade. First he attacked Egypt, was defeated and taken prisoner by the Moslems, was then ransomed and kept strict faith with the infidel. He went on to strengthen Christian positions in Palestine, but had to return on his mother's death. On his second Crusade, to Carthage, he died, amid disaster, of the plague. His work as a social Christian was chiefly in France. He was essentially the

peacemaker. By generous concessions he came to terms with England, and again with Aragon. His offices of conciliation healed menacing quarrels between his nobles. And those most disposed to rebel against the king were held in awe by his unflinching justice. So great was his reputation for equity that the English barons then at variance with their king submitted their dispute to Louis' judgment. He was a great lover of both Franciscans and Dominicans. A municipal reform wrought by the king needs to be noted here. The provostship of Paris had been sold to the rich citizens who turned their office to lucrative account by heavy impositions on the people. To avoid these burdens the people left Paris in large numbers. Louis hearing "learned the whole truth ; and after that he would not suffer the provostship to be sold, but gave a large and handsome salary to those who were henceforth to hold it." His royal care descended to a class for whom few felt sympathy. Among the many religious houses with which he adorned France, "he built another house, without the walls of Paris, on the road to St. Denis, which was called the 'Maison des Filles-Dieu,' and placed in it a great number of women who, through poverty, had incurred the sin of wantonness, and gave them 400 livres a year for their support." From early times, nunneries had offered a refuge to penitent prostitutes ; but is not this the first instance of a house specially provided for the victims of vice and poverty ? The generous

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

support accorded them and the name of their home—"House of the Daughters of God"—are among the noblest deeds of social service recorded of this Knight of the Holy Ghost. His general benevolence to the poor was indeed princely. One hundred and twenty every day had an abundant meal at his house. In his home—though he allowed the queen-mother to terrorize his wife—he took pains to train his children aright. At nights before he lay down in bed he would have them gathered round him and "he related to them the actions of good kings and emperors and told them to take example of such men."

The relations of the two Orders, between whom if he had to decide, St. Louis would have to divide his body in two, appear at their best in the ideal friendship of Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura. The mind loves to dwell on the way they in honour preferred one another and feared to take precedence of the other.

We recall how St. Thomas went to see Bonaventura, and opening the door saw the Franciscan lifted bodily from the floor in the ecstasy of meditation, and silently withdrew, revering the Divine pre-occupation of his friend's mind. At another time Bonaventura with several students visited St. Thomas, and opening the door saw, what none of the students saw, an angel telling St. Thomas what to write.

The cleavage between the orders arose on the

THE SWAY OF THE FRIARS, 1216-1384

question of the possession of wealth. Both orders had begun with resolute devotion to poverty. The first departure from the original rule was when Gregory IX. allowed the Franciscans corporate possession of property by the Order, while they remained in personal poverty. St. Dominic was strongly insistent on his Order standing by corporate as well as individual poverty. This attitude was not relaxed until the fifteenth century, when the Popes authorized the Order to hold property, and in effect abolished its mendicancy. But an important section of the Franciscans was harking back to the original ideals of St. Francis and carried on a campaign for poverty. Dominicans and Inquisitors swooped down upon them. On their appeal to him, Pope John XXII. condemned their teaching that Christ and His apostles had no property as heresy, and if they were obdurate excommunicated them. Several were burnt to death for their faith in apostolic poverty. Others denounced this Dominican Pope as anti-Christ. Chief among them was the Englishman William of Occam, who was imprisoned for four months by the Pope at Avignon. Thence he escaped to Bavaria where he sided with the Empire against the Papacy, and became later the general of the original order. But the bulk of the Franciscans made their submission to the Pope. The "spiritual Franciscans," cast out of the Roman communion, prepared the way for later revolts. Occam with his nominalism undermined scholas-

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

ticism, but contended that the consequent overthrow of the traditional theology did not mean the destruction of faith. He denied the temporal authority of the Papacy ; maintained that the office of king is as much from God as is the episcopate ; and so laid the mine which was to explode the Papal claims over half Europe. These revolutionary doctrines Occam derived from the Christian faith as he interpreted it. The same quarrel between Louis of Bavaria and John XXII., in which Occam had joined, evoked from MARSILIUS of Padua, then rector of Paris University, and his friend John of Jandun, the "Defensor Pacis," one of the most revolutionary books ever published. It taught that the true source of law was the body of citizens whose it was to appoint the chief ruler, carefully limiting the armed force at his disposal, to call him to account for offences, and to punish him in the last resort with death. It argued that the clergy, from the Pope downwards, had no coercive power, nor right to independence, all appointments with temporalities being properly made by the civil ruler. At the head of the Church stood, in this scheme, the Council convened by the Emperor : the Pope with only a titular eminence over other bishops, was to be elected by the Christian people, or representatives of the people, or the Council, and he was amenable to them for his conduct. With them rested the right of deposition and punishment. Here was a vision of democracy, both in Church and State, with the

THE SWAY OF THE FRIARS, 1216-1384

Church subordinate to the State ! Marsilius went with Louis to Italy and saw his theories realized to this extent, that Louis was crowned Emperor in Rome by representatives of the Roman people, and that the new emperor deposed the old Pope and appointed a new Pope. The doctrines of Occam and Marsilius were known and appreciated by John Wiclit.

Hungary in this period owed much of its social development to the influence of the Church. King Andrew II. by large grants of land increased the reactionary power of the great nobles, and by the Golden Bull of 1222, the Hungarian Magna Charta established the basis of popular liberty. The Bull was made more effective by the clergy in 1231. The Archbishop of Esztergom was appointed guardian of its articles and was authorized to excommunicate any king who violated them. The terrific inroads of the Tatars (1241-42) left the land so depopulated that King Bela IV. called in the heathen Rumanians to settle on it. The Pope, who from the days of St. Stephen had been suzerain of Hungary, fearing the country would lapse into heathenism, proclaimed a crusade. After a fierce civil war, two kings of the House of Anjou took the distracted country in hand and successively restored it to civilization.

In the works of the Franciscan Roger Bacon occurs a passage which contains the recipe for making GUNPOWDER, perhaps intended merely for use in

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

fireworks. The first mention of its use for projectiles in war occurs in 1327, in a description of defensive preparations by the Florentines. Once generally adopted, gunpowder, as Hegel says, "blew chivalry to pieces." It democratized war.

A still more awful leveller appeared in the BLACK DEATH which swept over Europe from 1349 to 1369, and carried off, it is estimated, one fourth of the population, or 25 millions. It is thought that more than half the people of England fell before it. This sweeping reduction in the number of the workers had the inevitable economic result that the value of those who survived was vastly increased. Serfs demanded or seized freedom. Better keep or a higher wage was claimed by the labourer. And when the possessing classes refused the new demands, insurrectionary movements appeared. Even before this incentive from the plague-pit had come, democracy had raised a menacing front in Rome and in Switzerland.

The absence of the Popes at Avignon had left Rome sadly at the mercy of the nobles. One of them slew the son of a tavern-keeper. The brother of this victim of aristocratic violence had filled his mind with close study of the "grandeur that was Rome," its glories of empire and literature, and he resolved to make the eternal city once more the head of the world, as a republic in which the turbulent nobles should be suppressed. His name was RIENZI. As a notary, he won some repute in the

THE SWAY OF THE FRIARS, 1216-1384

city and going on public business to Avignon, he obtained the favour of the Pope. Having laid his plans, his heralds summoned the citizens of Rome to a parliament on the Capitol on Whitsunday 1347, when new laws were proclaimed, and full powers given to Rienzi who assumed the title of Tribune "by the authority of our most merciful Lord Jesus Christ." The nobles fled in panic. Not a drop of blood was shed. He governed admirably. He executed equal justice on all, undeterred by monastic or aristocratic privileges. He cleansed Roman administration of its immense corruptions. He is said to have brought no fewer than 1,800 citizens, formerly at deadly feud, into friendly relations. He brought back exiles. He liberally assisted those that were in distress. He made the State responsible for the support of widows and orphans. He severely punished adulterers and gamblers. He cleared the highways of robbers. This reign of justice and peace, after the turmoil of aristocratic oppression, made the people see in him a man elected by God. He formed the great idea of a federation of Italian cities under the headship of Rome and actually convened a conference of representatives from different parts of the peninsula. But though he defeated the resurgent nobles in open battle, Pope and people turned against him and he had to flee. His glorious dream had lasted only seven months. After two years in hiding he surrendered at Prague to the Emperor who promptly

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

handed him over to the Pope, before whom at Avignon, he was sentenced to death. He remained in prison until a new Pope pardoned him and sent him to Rome with the title of senator. He entered in triumph. Popular at first, he was attacked by a violent mob and murdered by them. His second reign had lasted only a couple of months. With all his wild ambitions and theatrical display, Rienzi was a real pioneer of Italian unity and freedom, long before the times were ripe.

Already there had been formed in Castille Leagues of cities for the furtherance of their common interests ; in 1315 one League contained as many as a hundred cities. They are said to have formed a sort of State within the State.

Away amid the Swiss mountains a much more durable stand was made for popular freedom. The League of three or four cantons in 1291 expanded into the Confederation of 1315, when the Swiss peasants, armed with their scythes and reaping hooks—and their invincible mountains—shattered the great army of Austria at Morgarten. Then and later at Sempach, the common people of Switzerland proved themselves more than a match for the knighthood of Austria, and in the end achieved their political liberty.

A very different fate befell the peasantry of France. They had suffered terribly in the long wars with England, and had been mercilessly oppressed by their own nobility. They rose in wrath in 1358

THE SWAY OF THE FRIARS, 1216-1384

and aided by unemployed mercenaries carried fire and sword and pillage among the castles of their oppressors in the country adjacent to Paris. They were crushed by the royal forces at Meaux, and the nobles took ruthless vengeance in widespread massacre. There were no mountains to side with the insurgents ; and the *Jacquerie* was stamped out in blood.

The ferment caused in England by the economic consequences of the Black Death, further aggravated by laws aimed at binding the labourer to his parish and reimposing serfage on workers that were free, was forced into social explosion by an infamous poll-tax levied in equal measure upon rich and poor alike. The Peasants' Revolt assumed formidable dimensions, and might have become a revolution but for the murder of its leader, Wat Tyler, and the promised concessions of the young king Richard II. These promises were shamelessly broken ; the trustful populace returning to their homes were butchered wholesale ; king and nobles vied in their vengeance on the insurgents. The landowners vowed that they would never relinquish the ownership of their serfs. But this social tragedy had made evident the influence of a new-found Gospel on the masses.

JOHN WICLIF (born about 1320, died 1384) marks a turning point in the story of the human race. He was the leading mind in Oxford at a time when Oxford had become the intellectual centre of Europe. He was the leader of the English nation against the

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

excessive taxes which the Pope sought to impose. He was a severe critic of the immoralities of the clergy and came to repeat the demand of Arnold of Brescia for the poverty of the clergy. He extended the Franciscan idea of Apostolic poverty as binding not upon friars alone but upon all the clergy. Thus he had at first the support of the nobility who were more than eager to relieve the clerics of their vast wealth. But Wiclif based his teaching on the fundamental idea of the Divine Dominion. God was to him the supreme Overlord ; all other lords held their lordships as fief from Him. But every one who was lord whether of wealth or power held directly from God. God gave lordship, but no possession : property was sin. Civil lordship was directly the gift of God, was not mediated by Papal or any other power. The function of the clergy was service, not lordship. The clergy had no right to property or exercise of temporal power. Clergy found unfaithful could be deposed by the civil rulers. Wiclif applied the Augustinian doctrine of predestination to the Church in a way that summarily disposed of the ecclesiastical claims of his day. The Church according to Wiclif consisted only of the elect in Christ—those persons whom God predestinated to salvation through Christ. Each member of the true Church held directly of God in Christ. The “mixed church”—the empirical organization bearing the name of church—was on quite a different footing, and its members were to be judged not by their official status but by their

likeness or unlikeness to Christ. In his work on Civil Dominion, he demanded that "the whole body of civil law ought to be grounded upon the Evangelic Law as a Divine Rule," and he looked forward to an Evangelic Commonwealth in which love was supreme : in his own words, "Then should the State be necessitated to return to the Evangelic Commonwealth, having all things common." Christ was to Wiclif the centre of humanity : "the Christian pilgrim, in whatever position of life he may find himself, comes straight to Christ Himself as centre" : the whole passion of the stern schoolman's nature comes out in his adoration of "my Lord Jesus," and his craving for complete possession by His "most clear sweetness." The Scriptures were to Wiclif the authoritative source of Revelation ; but the Gospels, containing the very teaching of Jesus, stood above all the rest of Scripture.

These convictions—of the immediacy of the relation of God to the soul, as Overlord, as Predestinator, as Saviour, and of Scripture as the supreme authority in matters of faith and conduct —when confronted with the Papal scandals and the Papal schism, led Wiclif to denounce the Pope as Anti-Christ and to deny the whole doctrine of transubstantiation.

Up to this point Wiclif had been friendly to the Friars. He owed much to the Franciscan Occam. He paid them the tribute of imitation in his "poor

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

priests.” But henceforth, as both Orders were the devoted legionaries of the Papacy, he took up a critical and hostile attitude.

Undeterred by the gathering storm of official opposition, both in Church and State, Wiclif made his great appeal in their own tongue to the English people. His appeal took three forms : his poor Preachers, his tracts and pamphlets, and his translation of the Latin Bible. His “*Evangelic Men*,” first priests, then simple laymen, went everywhere, barefoot, robed in red, proclaiming the evangelic law. They were “poor without mendicancy.” How were they supported ? Some of the nobles took them as private chaplains ; country gentlemen protected them ; “merchants and burgesses supported them with money” (T. M. Lindsay). So these evangelists formed a paid ministry, kept by the voluntary subscriptions or hospitality of well-to-do sympathizers. Their evangelism met with immense success. Wiclif’s tracts make him the father of English pamphleteers—nay of later English prose. But his greatest work was putting the Vulgate into English. He and his helpers placed in the hands of the common people the most potent incitement to social transformation.

John Ball, a priest of Kent, had been sometime before preaching a tirade against the abuses of wealth. “Things will never go well in England so long as goods be not in common, and so long as there be villains and gentlemen.” “When Adam

THE SWAY OF THE FRIARS, 1216-1384

delved and Eve span, Who was then the gentleman?" In such sentences as these, Ball condensed the message of his Social Christianity. Following on his heels came Wiclif's Poor Preachers ; and we may be sure his demand that "the laws of Christ become the laws and habits of the State" and his anticipation of an Evangelic Commonwealth having all things common, though hidden away in his Latin writings, would lose nothing in the telling, in the vigorous language of the common people, by his Evangelic Men. And so far as the English New Testament was in the hands of the folk, they "could see for themselves" what Jesus had said and the Early Church had done. The fresh contact, howsoever mediated, of the Gospels on the mind of the poor, led, and not for the last time, to social insurrection.

There was also a great revolutionary ferment in the cities, the people struggling for their human rights against the nobles or the plutocracy. In Venice, the people who had formerly elected the Doge (duke) saw his powers reduced almost to zero and all real power vested in the hands of the commercial magnates : they rose in 1300 and again in 1310 in a futile endeavour to recover their rights. Genoa gained her civic independence in 1339, but was continually torn by internal discord between the rich and the poor. Todi, an Umbrian city, stated in its reformed articles of 1337 : "We, invoking the name of Jesus Christ, of the glorious Virgin Mary,

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

and of St. Fortunatus, resolve by this just law, which shall endure for all time, that the city of Todi and its territory . . . shall be ruled by popular institutions and by the people, by the *popolani* and the artisans." Florence attained popular freedom in 1343, and became for a time a commercial democracy in which the craft-guilds took a leading part.

From the giddy height to which Innocent III. had raised it, the Papacy shot down to the depth of "the Babylonish Captivity" at Avignon with its slavish dependence on the French monarchy (1303-1377), and reached a lower deep in the Great Schism (1378). No wonder that zealous Christians, like Occam and Wiclf, denounced the Pope as Anti-Christ, or that there was a general cry for reform of the Church by council or other means. The duel between Papacy and Empire continued, to the further weakening of both. One of the worse acts of the decadent Papacy was committed when Innocent IV., in 1252, authorized the use of torture, limited by Roman custom and law to slaves, for the detection of heresy, thus grafting a Roman cruelty on the Teutonic ordeal. The sum of human suffering of the most frightful kind which was inflicted on the world by this command of a "Vicar of Christ" passes all computation.

One of the most thoroughgoing advocates of the Empire was DANTE (1265-1321). In his "De Monarchia," he insisted on Christendom being

THE SWAY OF THE FRIARS, 1216-1384

ruled by one Government—the Empire—and by one man—the Emperor, as the political arrangement most conducive to peace ; while he argued that the Pope should be subordinate in civil matters. But this was only one of his lesser contributions to a Christian system of society. The greatest poem of thirteen Christian centuries was his work. In it he gives not merely a full picture of Christian faith and hope and love as then held : he sheds the light of his Christian conscience on society around him, not fearing to pronounce a stern judgment on Popes and Emperors with the rest. A social fact of vast importance is that he wrote this poem in the language of the common people of Italy. Another is that in his ideal passion for Beatrice he has transfigured for all time the friendship which Christ creates between man and woman outside the sphere of wedlock. She was the wife of another man ; he was the husband of another woman ; but neither of the exclusive unities impairs or shadows the pure and holy love of these two friends.

Of the whole period now closing there is one common feature, which may shortly be described as POPULARIZATION. It was a period of popularization in Religion, by Franciscans, Dominicans, and Wiclif's Poor Preachers : in Literature, above all, by Dante's Italian poetry, by Wiclif's English Bible and pamphlets : in Government, by Spanish Cortes, English Parliament, Swiss Confederation and Swedish Riksdag ; by the theories of Occam and Mar-

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

silius, by popular city-rule under Rienzi at Rome with efforts more or less futile in other towns ; by abortive risings of the peasants in the French *Jacquerie*, and in the English revolt under John Ball ; and in War, by Gunpowder.

PERIOD IX

NATIONALITY, REVIVED PAGANISM, AND THE NEW WORLD : A.D. 1384-1492

Christianoid Nations. The Saving of France by JOAN of Arc under Orders from Above. JOHN HUSS, Maker of Bohemia. Victory and Propaganda of Hussites. In Poland and Lithuania. The TURKS in Europe. Hunyadi Janos. Franciscan Militancy. Rise of Russian Tsardom. Europe drifting to Absolutism. RENAISSANCE: Pagan Ascendancy. Roman Law, its Imperialism and Individualism. Religious Risings: Hans Böhm. Lay Religion. "The Brethren": the Leaven of Jesus. Pilgrimages, Social Good and Evil. Growth of Capitalism under the Church. Futile Councils. SAVONAROLA, Civic Reformer, Boys' Friend, Martyr. PRINTING. Oversea Exploration. COLUMBUS, his Inspiration, his Ultimate Aim.

THIS period is one in which the nationalities of Europe are rendered, as never before, compact and distinct. They are by courtesy called Christian nations, but would be better termed Christianoid. They are welded into unity and cloven asunder from each other, by influences that are partly of Christian origin, and partly the product of a revived Paganism.

In the saving and unifying of France, the hand of the Unseen Christ is so plain as to be almost palpable. His intervention came by way of reaction from the lamentable retrogression of England. The House of Lancaster, to strengthen its hold on the throne, entered into an unholy alliance with the Church on the one side and with the nobility on the other. The Church was secured by the ruthless stamping out

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

and burning out of the Wyclifites, or Lollards, as they came to be called ; and the menace to property which their teaching of poverty and communism involved, made the great landowners acquiesce in the persecution. The covetous eyes of the nobility, which had been cast longingly towards the great possessions of the Church at home, were diverted to France, where free scope could be given to their predatory instincts. Hence came the invasion which resulted with the victory of Agincourt in the cruel devastation of large tracts of France. It has been justly described as “a wanton aggression on the part of a nation tempted by the helplessness of its opponent.” This challenge to the Unseen Chivalry was not left unanswered.

The story of JOAN OF ARC is a triumphant evidence of the direct initiative and action of Jesus in the shaping of human history. The ingenious efforts of the cleverest unbelievers to get round it or explain it away only invite ridicule. They reveal the utter credulousness of incredulity. The whole record of social Christianity in making and saving nations contains no clearer instance of Jesus at work. His choice of prime agent was just like Him. For the deliverance of France, He chose no monarch or military chief, but a country girl, of lowly origin, of pure heart and blameless life. The royal warrant which later ennobled her parents was not sure whether they were not still serfs (*n'étaient peut-être pas de condition libre*). Her little village, Dom-

NATIONALITY AND REVIVED PAGANISM

Remy, was on the borders of France and Lorraine—far away from the thick of things. There, after the English had been for nine years ravaging France, “the word of the Lord” came to her. Let her speak to us as she spoke to her judges at the trial which ended in her death :

“ I was in my thirteenth year when God sent me a Voice to lead me. The Voice came at mid-day, in summer, in the garden of my father. That first time, I was greatly afraid, and I doubted that it was Saint Michael who came to me. He was in the form of a very true honest man. I saw him with my eyes ; he was not alone, but accompanied by angels from Heaven. I saw him many times before knowing that it was Saint Michael. Above all things he told me that I was a good child, that God would help me, and that I should go to the succour of the King of France. And the angel recounted to me the great pity which there was for the Kingdom of France. He told me that Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret would come ; that they were ordained of God to direct me and to advise me in what I had to do ; that I ought to believe what they told me ; that that was the commandment of our Lord.”

The Voices continued year after year. When the English laid siege to Orleans, which was the key to the French position, the Voices increased in urgency. Finally St. Michael overcame her last scruples. “ He told me that I must leave my country and go to the succour of the King of France, that God

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

would help me and that I should raise the siege of Orleans. I answered, I am only a poor girl who does not know how to mount a horse and knows nothing of war. The angel told me that it was the commandment of our Lord, and he reported to me the great pity there was for the kingdom of France." After many rebuffs she at last succeeded in obtaining escort and admission to the Court. When she arrived at court, she went straight to Charles amid a crowd of some 300 courtiers and said to him :

" Gentle Dauphin, my name is Jehanne the Maid ; the King of the Heavens tells you by me that you will be anointed and crowned in the city of Rheims, and you will be lieutenant of the King of the Heavens who is King of France. Put me in charge and the country will soon be relieved. You will recover your kingdom, all your kingdom, with the help of God and by my labour."

At last her wish was granted and she was provided with armour and companions for the relief of Orleans. But before she set out she won from the king a promise that he would govern " justly, mercifully, without rancour or revenge, as the loyal vassal of Christ." On her standard were inscribed the words JHESUS MARIA. The Saviour was represented holding the globe in His left hand and blessing with His right lilies presented to Him by St. Michael and St. Gabriel. Joan at her trial said : " I loved my standard forty times more than my sword. In battle

NATIONALITY AND REVIVED PAGANISM

I carried that standard in order to avoid killing any one. I have never killed any one."

So equipped, she went to Orleans. Then ensued the moral miracle. Into the hearts of the French, cowed, terrified by the almost uniform success of the English, panic-struck at the very sound of their "Hurrah!" the Maid breathed her own lofty faith, her indomitable courage, and her unshakable will-force. She transformed a crowd of huddled sheep into an army of lions. She first bade the English retreat in peace. On their rejecting her terms with scorn, the great struggle began; and by prodigies of valour, and by generalship far wiser than that of the professional soldiers about her, Joan drove out the English from their leaguer and delivered Orleans. "Within less than a week of her first day under fire," says Andrew Lang, "the girl of seventeen had gained one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world." Then comes the victorious march of the French, across the country that the English had conquered, to Rheims; and there at last in the Cathedral, Charles was anointed and crowned King of France.

Then followed the long tragedy of royal ingratitude, cowardice and slackness, thwarting the great schemes of the Maid, until she was taken prisoner by the English, tried by a packed court of French ecclesiastics, and after alleged abjuration and relapse, sent to the stake at Rouen. To the very last "she maintained that her Voices were from God, and all she had done was by God's command; nor did she

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

believe that her Voices had deceived her." But, as had repeatedly occurred in the crises of her life, her soul went out to the Supreme Leader, above and beyond all His aides-de-camp and messengers. She died crying without ceasing, "JESUS, JESUS!"

It was as His soldier and ambassador she had carried out her colossal task. After her death, her cause went on from victory to victory. France was unified. The English were driven back to their own land. By this peasant girl in her 'teens, the Lord Christ, having "great pity for the kingdom of France," interposed to deliver it. Five hundred years later, the Church of Rome canonized her. She showed what Jesus can do for the world when He finds a soul of selfless obedience to His will.

Like the saint and saviour that she was, Joan did almost as much for the English who had fought her, insulted and burnt her, as for her own countrymen. As a consequence of her action, the English were shut up in their own land ; and, freed from the long exhaustion of the French wars, were left to their own internal development.

The people of Bohemia, essentially and preponderatingly Slav, though with a large admixture of German colonists, rose to a self-conscious and aggressive nationhood under the leadership of JOHN HUSS (about 1373-1415). Huss was a disciple of Wiclif. He did not accept Wiclif's denial of transubstantiation. But he followed Wiclif in his denunciation of the corruptions of the Church, in

NATIONALITY AND REVIVED PAGANISM

the demand that the clergy should be stripped of their inordinate wealth, in the use of the vernacular as the language of praise and Scripture, in asserting the supreme authority and sufficiency of the Bible, and above all, in insisting that not Peter or the Pope, but Christ was the Head of the Church. Huss transcribed into his own works the writings of Wiclit, circulated the works of Wiclit, and commended them to Bohemian readers. It was chiefly on the ground of his Wiclify that after the mockery of a trial by the Council of Constance and in deliberate breach of the Imperial safe-conduct, Huss was sent to the stake. But his work as pioneer of reform in Church and theology has too generally overshadowed his achievement as inspirer and elicitor of the national life of Bohemia. It is still disputed whether or not he was, even in the Roman sense, a real heretic. But there can be no doubt of his services to Bohemian nationalism. He was a great promoter of the use of the pure Bohemian tongue. Its corruption by the introduction of German words he warmly opposed. He revised translations of Scripture into better Bohemian. He made Bethlehem Chapel, founded by Prague burgesses for preaching in Bohemian, the centre of a religious propaganda in the vernacular. He introduced singing in the church services by laymen, and—more awful innovation—by women also. He wrote hymns in the people's speech ; and as far as he could he replaced Latin by Bohemian. He even

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

objected to intermarriage between Bohemians and Germans. He greatly rejoiced over the victory which the Poles won from the Teutonic Knights at Tannenburg (1410) as a triumph for the Slav race. The University of Prague, founded in the fourteenth century by King Charles, of which Huss had been dean of the philosophical faculty and later Rector, came to be governed by "nations"—Bohemian, Bavarian, Saxon and Polish—with power for the three last to override the first. A royal decree changed this unjust arrangement and gave the Bohemian "Nation" three votes, and to the rest only one. In high dudgeon at this removal of their usurpation, the foreign minority hived off and founded Leipsic University. Huss was at the head of the Bohemian "nation."

The judicial murder of their national hero roused Bohemia to fury. Abhorrence of the immoralities of the clergy, who held one-third of the land, a passion for church reform, and the ferment of Wiclif's and Huss' teaching with its political and economic implications, joined with admiration of their martyred leader to sweep the people toward the rapids of revolution. With the exception of a small but powerful minority, Bohemia became Hussite. The effervescence of the new life could not be repressed. The Hussites were invincible. The Empire tried to crush them, but failed. Papal Crusade after Papal crusade was foiled by Hussite valour. The twenty years' struggle ended in a compromise which

NATIONALITY AND REVIVED PAGANISM

wrested from the Papacy itself communion in wine as well as in bread, and the refusal to priests of ownership of worldly possessions. Not merely could the Hussites not be subdued in their own land ; they went forth by the hundred thousand to fight for friends in other lands ; and wherever they went, went the insistence that for Christians tithes were purely voluntary, that the clergy must be poor, and that all things should be in common.

In the national development of POLAND and LITHUANIA, different forms of organized Christianity played very different parts. The Knights of the Sword had been planted in Livonia, with the ostensible aim of Christianizing the Lithuanians. They had miserably failed. Polish influences were more successful. Poles and Lithuanians united to resist the Knights of the Sword. When the heathen Jagellio, Grand Duke of Lithuania, became by marriage Catholic King of Poland (1386) and appointed his nephew Witowt Grand Duke after him, Lithuania rapidly became Christian. But all the strength of the two Powers had to be turned against the Teutonic Knights, another crusading order, who had sunk into a military oligarchy using their position for their own wealth and aggrandizement. The allies inflicted on The Order at Tannenburg (1410) a crushing, though not a final blow. Under the protection of the Teutonic Knights had risen up flourishing lands and towns ; but, the latter being denied the rights of self-government,

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

formed the Prussian League and came over to the Polish sway. This meant renewed war with the Teutonic Knights by Casimir IV., under whom Lithuania and Poland were united in one realm. After twelve years' hostilities, the Knights had to yield and do homage to Casimir. So it was in defiance of Christian Orders of Chivalry, though happily favoured by the Pope, that the Poles, the Lithuanians and the Prussians reached something like freedom. The monarch's difficulties were vastly increased by the divisiveness and selfishness of the Polish nobles. In fortunate contrast, the Church rendered immense service in keeping the nation together. The synods maintained the idea of national unity. The clergy stood for the protection of the poor against the large landowners. "The Church was the one stable and unifying element in an age of centrifugal particularism."

In Italy and Germany, the same Church played a quite other *rôle*. The unitive movement in both lands was deliberately blocked by her. Her concern for the Papal States could brook no rival in the Peninsula. Her duel with the Empire led to her fomenting disaffection and dissension in Germany.

In Spain the influence of the Church was on the side of unity. The age-long struggle with the Moslem was ended, and the realm was united under the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella. The Inquisition not merely preserved the religious unity

NATIONALITY AND REVIVED PAGANISM

of Spain ; it was a valuable weapon to beat down political dissension.

But ISLAM, driven out of the West, took frightful vengeance on the East. The TURKS crossed the Hellespont in 1353, lapped up many nascent Christian peoples, and hurled themselves against the great kingdoms of central Europe. Even before they had captured Constantinople (1453), and transformed the Church of St. Sophia into a Moslem mosque, they offered a tremendous challenge to the whole of Western Europe : Was Christendom to be absorbed into the Ottoman Empire ? There was no collective reply adequate to the emergency.

Hungary nobly bore the brunt of the Turkish invasions. Her king Sigismund who basely betrayed Huss to his enemies and so roused Bohemia to revolution, did his best to unify Hungary and at the Church Councils to unite Christendom against the Turk. In his reign the feudal system was introduced, but in its worst form. The down-trodden people, kindled by Hussite preachers of communism, flared up into successive risings, which were so pitilessly suppressed by the Inquisition that great tracts of land were swept clear of inhabitants. After Sigismund's long and on the whole successful reign of fifty years, there emerges into prominence the heroic figure of HUNYADI JANOS. He was, to begin with, a small country squire, but rose to be, by a series of victorious campaigns against the Turks, Governor

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

of Hungary and chief champion of Christendom. He liberated Servia at Semendria, added Wallachia and Moldavia to the Hungarian sphere, and by the "long campaign" set free Bosnia, Herzegovina, Bulgaria and Albania from the Turkish yoke. About to renew the attack, he was offered by the Sultan most favourable terms for a truce of ten years. On his advice the King accepted these terms. Absolved by the Papal legate from his treaty-oath, the king, against the advice of Hunyadi, broke the truce, marched to Varna, was there defeated and slain. After the fall of Constantinople, the Turks prepared to attack Hungary, and Hunyadi set about fortifying Belgrade. The nobles declined to support him. He had at his own cost to strengthen and supply the city which was the key to Christendom. Happily the common people came to his standard, roused by the fervid preaching of a Franciscan friar, Giovanni da Capistrano ; and though mostly armed with only slings and scythes helped the great captain to rout the Moslem Sultan and raise the siege. Hungary was thus freed from Turkish attack for seventy years. But its deliverer died of the plague almost as soon as he had won this crowning victory. For most of his life he could neither read nor write. But his genius, his public spirit and his noble character, combined with his deliverance of Christendom, have given him a unique eminence among the social saviours of the world. His son who was elected king and known as Matthias the Just, was

NATIONALITY AND REVIVED PAGANISM

worthy of his sire. He created a great army and made it a civilizing agency. He promoted education, reformed the laws, and did his utmost in every way to raise the level of his people's life. But the great nobles remained illiterate, and the clergy were sadly debased. The greater the marvel that out of such a nation father and son had created the "Buckler of Christendom."

Russia was now emerging from the Tatar domination which lasted from 1238 to 1462. The Grand Princes of Moscow claimed to be Tsars of all Russia. Their autocracy was perhaps modelled on that of a Tatar Khan, but alas ! derived a great amount of support from the Byzantine origin of their religion. They imputed to themselves the divine rights which the Greek Church had ascribed to the Emperors. When the Turks took Constantinople and put an end to the Empire centred in that city, Ivan III. married the daughter of the last Emperor and considered himself heir to all Imperial prerogatives, political and religious. In the old Empire the autocracy of the chief ruler was tempered by the great system of Roman law. But in Russia there was no such qualification ; there was only the caprice of barbarism. The Church which elsewhere had been the patron of popular freedom and a check to absolute power, was here accomplice in the creation of four and a half centuries of the most unqualified despotism that ever bore sway in Christendom. Yet even so, Russia was the bulwark

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

of Christendom against the Tatars as Hungary had been against the Turks.

With the growth of nationality, there was throughout Europe a general drift towards royal absolutism. In England the nobility which had since the days of the Charter been the chief check on royal tyranny was largely destroyed by the Wars of the Roses ; and subservient Parliaments only made the autocracy of the Tudor monarchs the more secure. In France the revival of Roman law enabled the lawyers to claim for the monarch the powers belonging to the Roman Emperors. In Spain the united monarchy overpowered the nobles and used the Cortes as a means to strengthen their absolute rule. The same tendency in Scotland was thwarted by the turbulence of the nobles, and a powerful aristocracy in Denmark and Sweden held the throne in awe. In Denmark the free peasantry were forced down into slavery. In Sweden the king invoked the help of the Riksdag against his nobles. In Poland and in Hungary the personal rule of strong monarchs was hampered by the disloyalty of the magnates. In Germany and Italy the same drift was seen in the local princes becoming little autocrats. Of the two great powers which might have hindered the suppression of popular liberty, the Empire had been worsted and degraded in the long struggle with the Papacy, and the Church, itself an autocracy, was in the main afraid of democratic movements.

This period was one of Revived Paganism. The

NATIONALITY AND REVIVED PAGANISM

revival took two forms. One was the resuscitation of Roman law ; the other was what is generally known as the Renaissance. Both were attended with mixed results. Fresh contact with the master-pieces of Greek and Roman literature was a vigorous stimulus to the awakening intellect of Europe. The Renaissance marked a great advance in the education of the human race. It brought a world of new ideas and gave to literature and art the highest standards of expression yet known. It put into the light of common day the New Testament in the original Greek and later the Old Testament in Hebrew. It quickened everywhere the thirst for knowledge, the love of research, the feeling for beauty, and the critical faculty. These things had vast and beneficent social reactions. But with the good much evil was mingled. The shock of a great new world of thought altered the balance of the European mind and sent it oscillating in the direction of doubt and scepticism. It affected differently South and North. The serious, virile Germanic North was roused to quest after deeper certainties. But Humanism had its dangers. It tempted men to remain in the enjoyment of the merely human and positive with a very nebulous care for the supernal and transcendent which is all decisive. In the South, Pagan letters brought in their train Pagan morals and a sort of fantastic Pagan worship. The ancient virus infected most circles of influence and even penetrated to the Papal Court. Men were called once more to choose

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

between “the glory that was Greece, the grandeur that was Rome,” and the authority of the Nazarene. There was, however veiled, widespread apostasy and frightful profligacy. At the very time that the Turks had wiped out the Christian Empire centred in Constantinople, Italy lay prostrate under the ancient culture. So precarious was the outlook before Christendom, threatened by a combined attack of triumphant barbarism and resurgent Paganism, which had already swept victorious over the capitals of the Faith.

Roman Law was a great education to the legal mind, and was not without other benefits to the cause of civilization. But it carried with it the poison of Pagan Imperialism and Pagan individualism. Its Imperialism was used to sanction the growth of royal absolutism throughout Europe, from France to Russia, with consequences of dire import to the whole of Christendom for many generations. Its individualism wrought with deadly effect on the various forms of communal ownership. The Roman law was used in the fifteenth century “to reduce a free peasantry in possession of communal property to tenants on long lease, and then to serfs, and lastly to slaves” (Lindsay). Such was the tragic result of the failure of Christian intelligence to perceive that Christianity brought with it its own principles of government and property, and that the endeavour to build a Christian society on Pagan principles meant social shipwreck.

NATIONALITY AND REVIVED PAGANISM

But the common people, heirs of the communal past, and tinctured with Christian teaching, did not surrender their rights without many a struggle. The Rhætian peasants, federated in the Graubund, won their freedom as the Swiss had done a century before. Mostly alas ! the risings were ineffectual. They were generally marked by a fierce hatred of the clergy, whose avarice was everywhere resented and whose moral character was otherwise not spared, and by an intense religious fervour. The peasants knew how to distinguish between Church and Christ. Their spirit found vent in Central Germany in a man named Hans Böhm. He was of the lowest class. He used to play the bagpipes at village festivals. He was entirely without education. He had not even been taught the Creed. His life was blameless. He was converted by a Franciscan preacher. He declared he had been called to be a preacher by the Virgin Mary who appeared to him in a vision, and continued to guide him. He solemnly burned his bagpipes before a crowd and commenced preaching (1476). Crowds came from far to hear him. His chapel at Niklashausen was a favourite resort of pilgrimages. True religion, he taught, was to do honour to the Virgin. He inveighed against all priests as worse than Jews, denounced the Emperor as the mainstay of all who trampled on the poor, and held the Pope up to derision. He foretold a time when the Emperor must work for his living as the poor did. He urged

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

the refusal of all taxes, claimed meadow lands and game and fish as common to all, and insisted that all men being brethren should share alike. He was soon seized by the Bishop of Wurzburg and burned as a heretic. But his influence lasted. "The effects of Hans Böhm's teaching appear in almost all subsequent peasant and artisan revolts." So says Dr. Lindsay, whose guidance is invaluable for this period.

He also calls attention to the growth of a non-ecclesiastical religion. Pious testators left charities to be administered, not as once invariably by the clergy, but by the lay authorities, who in turn endeavoured to put down begging (hitherto favoured by the Church) and provided work for the beggars with training for their children. There were associations mostly of artisans who cultivated religion quite apart from the control of the clergy. From the end of the 13th right on to the beginning of the 16th century there were scattered over Europe groups of people calling themselves The BRETHREN. They were numerous among the working classes of the great cities. By the evidence of the Inquisitors who persecuted them, they repudiated Church and clergy, but were true believers and lived righteously. "They live quietly and modestly ; their learned men are weavers and tailors ; they do not heap up riches ; they live chastely ; they refrain from all foul language." They read the Scriptures in the vernacular. They provided schools for their chil-

NATIONALITY AND REVIVED PAGANISM

dren. They visited the leper-houses and sometimes had special schools for the lepers' children. They helped each other in distress or persecution. They kept in touch with similar groups all over Europe. Sometimes they were praying circles. They insisted that tithes should be strictly voluntary, not enforced by law ; and that the laity should communicate in both cup and paten ; and this before Wiclif or Huss had appeared. The wide extent of these lay Brotherhoods prepared Europe for the idea of a religion that was priestless, voluntarily supported, brotherly, and versed in Scripture, including also the education of children. How social Christianity had been leavening the mass is witnessed in the words of Dr. Lindsay :

“ Nothing shows how the Church of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had instilled the mind of Jesus into the peoples of Europe like the zeal with which they tried to do their duty by the poor, the sick and the helpless. Institutions, founded by individuals or by corporations, for the purpose of housing the destitute abounded, and men and women willingly dedicated themselves to the service of the unfortunate.”

What was once the mark of the monk or friar was now stamped on the hearts of the common people.

The multiplication of pilgrimages, which was a marked feature of the fifteenth century, and was the principal expression of a vast religious emotion which swept through Europe, possessed more of

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

a social than a religious value. It made people aware of a larger world than they lived in, and, though often attended with very shady qualities, and occasioning cruel extortion, travel and especially foreign travel was a liberal education for multitudes.

To the growth of Capitalism the mediæval Church had given great impetus. The Templars had been the founders of a system of international banking, which of course passed into other hands when the Order was dissolved in 1312. But the Papacy itself, by its dues and indulgences gathered from many lands, necessitated arrangements for collecting and transmitting, out of which large profits were made ; and it is by this means, it is said, the great financiers of Augsburg, the Fugger family, made their vast wealth. The Jew was no longer allowed a monopoly of lending money.

Meantime collective and official Christendom was making efforts to reform itself, to heal the Papal schism, and even to defend itself from the Turk. The Council at Pisa only added a third Pope to the two obdurate rivals. The Council at Constance was more representative, declared itself to " possess its authority immediately from God, and every one including the Pope is bound to obey it." It got rid of the three Popes and elected Martin V. But the desired reformation in body and members was not proceeded with ; and the Pope again claimed supreme power. The Councils of Basel and Ferrara were even less fruitful. The appeal of Constanti-

NATIONALITY AND REVIVED PAGANISM

nople to save it from the devouring Turk led to a long discussion on theological disagreements, ending in a compromise that did not help the Greek Emperor much, and utterly failed to save the Greek Empire.

A real, though local and transient, attempt at reform was made by Savonarola (1452–1498). A medical student, crossed in love, and disgusted with the world, he became a Dominican and practised the greatest austerities. Brooding much on the corruption of the Church, and filled with a sense of impending judgments, he at last burst forth with his unrivalled oratory at Brescia—as though all unaware the spirit of Arnold had returned to speak through him—and swayed the hearts of men with his prophetic fervour. He felt himself directly inspired and did not fear to declare his Divine authorization. He was called back to Florence where eight years previously he had spent a brief sojourn of delight and disillusionment, and there with his flaming prophecies shook and mastered the hearts of the people. He spared not Lorenzo the Magnificent, and let him die unabsolved, because he refused to restore the liberties of Florence. His predictions were often tragically fulfilled. The advent of a French army under Charles VIII. precipitated a revolution, and Florence became a Republic once more. Savonarola was the guiding and commanding spirit of the new order. He induced the people to adopt a democratic constitution. He commanded them with his oratory and religious passion and for about three

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

years was practically dictator of the city. These years are a wonderful experiment in social Christianity on its civic side. His programme was four-fold : 1. "The fear of God ; 2. The common weal ; 3. Universal peace ; 4. Political reform." Under his guidance provision was made for the Unemployed ; workshops were opened to supply them with work ; "work," he said, "was the best form of charity." To prevent usury, State pawnshops were set up ; and the Jews fled from Florence. He taught that rich as well as poor ought to work ; he was very severe on the idle rich. The burden of taxation which pressed heavily upon the poorer classes was lightened ; a uniform levy of ten per cent. was made on all real property. Justice was strictly enforced. Political offenders received an amnesty. Much profounder changes in morals were introduced. By his preaching, Savonarola transformed Florence from a gay, sceptical, ultra-worldly and profligate city into a puritan model. Florence was, he urged, to become in very truth a Christian city, a civic example to the world. There was a public "burning of vanities," when incitements to vice and frivolity, in print or picture or dress, were committed to the flames. The city refused an offer of 20,000 gold florins for the stuff thus consumed. Savonarola had a great concern for children and seems to have anticipated in some measure the modern Boy Scouts. "He organized the boys of Florence in a species of sacred militia,

NATIONALITY AND REVIVED PAGANISM

an inner republic with its own magistrates and officials charged with the enforcement of his rules for the holy life." Religious carnival, joyous dances, floral wreaths, processional singing, were arranged by the great Monk for the pious delectation of the people, who responded by giving freely of their wealth to the poor. There came in time the inevitable reaction, which was carefully fostered by Rome. The Papacy had been sinking, Pope after Pope, into lower depths of moral infamy. When a Borgia became Pope Alexander VI., Savonarola, always a stern denouncer of the Church's sins, redoubled his invectives. His philippics menaced the stability of the Papal throne. He was summoned to Rome. He refused to go. When the reaction in Florence had reached sufficient power, the Pope excommunicated him. He in turn pronounced Alexander, by reason of his notorious vices, to be no Pope. But Florence was won over to the Papal side. The great Prophet was seized, tortured, hanged and burned (1498). The evidence of his direct inspiration from the Unseen is found in his own witness and character, in the fulfilment of his many predictions, and above all, in the civic miracle he wrought on Florence.

An enormous advance towards that common consciousness—with resulting common feeling and eventually common volition—of mankind, which is included in the social ideal of the Christian faith, was made by the invention of PRINTING from movable types. Perhaps already adopted in China,

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

Korea and Japan four centuries earlier, it was independently discovered in Europe shortly before the middle of the fifteenth century. The invention is due *either* to Lourens Janszoon Coster at Haarlem in Holland, between the years 1440 and 1446, *or* to Johan Gutenberg at Mainz in Germany, 1443-1444. These alternatives have been the subject of more than 400 years' controversy, but whether Dutch or German in origin, there can be no controversy as to the social value of the Printing Press.

"This island in the ethereal deep," the earth which is to be the scene of the Kingdom of God, must be explored ; its oceans and continents known, its peoples, nations and languages brought to mutual acquaintance, if ever the social and international objective of the Christ is to be attained. Christendom was up to the present only a very small part of the planet. But now the darkness that shrouded the rest of the globe was lifting. Intrepid Portuguese sailors, incited by Prince Henry, were feeling their way down the West coast of Africa, and were soon to double the Cape of Good Hope and reach India. But before this unveiling of the ancient East had been achieved, a totally New World beyond the Atlantic was beginning to dawn upon Europe. The first glow, not unmixed with the mists of illusion, fell on the lofty summit of the soul of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. Born in Genoa, about the middle of the fifteenth century, the son of a woolcomber, his youth was spent in studying astronomy and geo-

NATIONALITY AND REVIVED PAGANISM

graphy at Pavia University, and in working as sailor and trader. Probably about the time of attaining his physical prime the great idea seized him, to find a westward way to India. For many years he wandered about from court to court, in poverty and disparagement trying to find some royal patron to undertake the enterprise, but in vain. His hopes of persuading Ferdinand and Isabella were again and again disappointed. But at last Isabella vowed to fit out his expedition, even though it cost her the Crown jewels. So ended some eighteen years of harrowing suspense. He was sustained throughout by the certainty that he was a man chosen and inspired by the Most High. He was sure that "the ends of the earth were to be brought together and all nations and tongues united under the banners of the Redeemer : this was to be the triumphant consummation of his enterprise." The same firm faith carried him and his three small ships (100, 50, 40 tons respectively), with 120 men all told, through seventy anxious days across the unknown Ocean. He sighted land, and landed, on October 12, 1492 ; and a new great volume in the world's history was opened. No wonder that he knelt and kissed the ground with tears of devout gratitude that the Unseen Leader had at last vindicated the faith of His servant. In a letter written nine years afterwards, Columbus lays bare the inner record of his life. He wrote :

"I heard a Voice saying to me, 'O fool and slow

THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

to believe and serve thy God who is the God of all. . . . From the time of thy birth He has ever had thee under His peculiar care. When He saw thee of a fitting age, He made thy name to resound marvellously throughout the earth. . . . Of the gates of the Ocean sea, shut up with such mighty chains, He delivered to thee the keys : the Indies, those wealthy regions of the world, He gave to thee for thine own, and empowered thee to dispose of them to others according to thy pleasure. . . . He has many and vast inheritances yet in reserve. . . . The privileges and promises which God hath made to thee He hath never broken.' I heard this as one almost dead, and had no power to reply to words so true, except to weep over my errors."

Like the true crusader that he was, he meant to employ the treasures he should discover in an expedition to deliver the Holy Sepulchre from Moslem sway ; that he considered the main work of his life, for which his great discovery was but a preparation.*

* Curiously enough, it was from the New World which he discovered that the treasure came which, in the Great War four hundred years later, enabled troops from the real Indies to liberate Palestine and the holy places there from Turkish usurpation. But for the loans advanced by the United States, the Allies could not have carried on the War to its victorious conclusion.

INDEX TO VOL. I

- ABELARD, 194, 195
Abortion condemned by Athenagoras, 61
Actors, excluded, 77
Adultery a capital offence, 86
Aged, care for the, 66, 70
Agriculture and Cistercians, 187
Aidan, 148
Alaric takes Rome, 92, 121
Alcuin, 157
Alfred the Great, great social Christian, 167
Allofness from public life, 67, 74
Ambrose, St., 109, 113, 115, 126, 127
America discovered, 259
Amusements, 64
Anthusa, mother of Chrysostom, 112
Antioch, 32; Chrysostom on, 117, 118; saved by him and Flavius, 127
Antony, founder of Monasticism, 92-5, 101, 199
Apology of Justin Martyr, 57
Apostles, 27; lured by the "purely spiritual," 30; teaching social, 34; "Teaching of the 12," 52; "Apostles" in "Didache," 52
Apostolical Constitutions, 47, 84
Architecture, 24, 193
Arnold of Brescia, 194-196
Art, xiii; Jesus and, 24; in Apocalypse, 40
Athanasius, his life of Antony, 95; with two monks to Rome, 97
Augustine of Canterbury, 147, 148
Augustine, St., x; City of God, 90, 129-133, 158; his mistress and natural son, 110; no sense of sin in discarding her, 111; his fatal mistake, 131
Autocracy, welcomed by Church, 91, 157; Papal, 174, 202; at bar of Christ, 204; Royal, drift to, 248; in Russia, work of Church, 247
"BABYLONISH Captivity," 232; ended by St. Catherine, 216
Bacon, Roger, 208, 211-212, 223
Ball, John, 230, 234
Barbarians, 91; monasticism to deal with, 92, 101; higher morals, 136
Barnabas, Epistle of, 55
Basil, Emperor, 170
Basil the Great, 97; made vows binding, 99; his great hospital, a "New City," 105; on wealth, 115
Bathing, mixed, reprobated, 76
Bavaria, conversion of, 152
Beatrice, Dante's, 233
Belgrade, siege of, 246
Benedict, St., of Nursia, 140, 164
Bernard, St., 181, 186, 188, 189, 195
Bishop deified, 45-47
Black Death, 224
Blanche of Castile, mother of St. Louis, 218
Bobbio, 144
Bohemia remade by Huss, 240-243

INDEX

Böhm, Hans, 251-252
Bonaventura, St., 207, 211, 220
Boniface, 151-153
British Christians, 148, 149
"Brothers, The," 28; Brothers in Tertullian, 70; "The Brethren" from 13th to 16th century, 252
Burying the dead, 70, 78, 83
Business, Aquinas on, 214
Byzantine Empire, Lecky on, 128, 156, 160; becomes Latin Empire, 182, 202

CÆDMON, 149-151

Canossa, 177
Capitalism, fostered by the Church, 254
Captives, release of, Cyprian, 77; Ambrose, 113; Epiphanius, 137; Caesarius, 137
"Castigate and castrate the World," 69
Cardinals to elect Pope, 175
Cassino, 141
Cassiodorus, 140
Cathedrals, 193
Catherine, St., of Siena, 214-217
Celsus, Origen against, 73
Charity, Lecky on Christian, 104, 108; Friars' charities, 206
Charlemagne, 155-158, 167, 174
Charles Martel, 154, 155, 184
Chastity, xi; in Justin Martyr, 58; in Clementine, 61; in Theophilus, 61; in Athenagoras, 62; in Tertullian, 71; Suicide to protect, 80, 81, 109; negative view of, 109
Cheerfulness in Hermas, "The Spirit given cheerful," 57
Child, 20; exposed and defiled, 58
Chivalry of Crusades, 182; of Jesus, 185
Christianoid nations, 235
Christ-traffickers, "Didache," 53

Chrysostom on marriage above monstery, 109; his women-friends, 112; the Social prophet, 116; on workmen, 116; on landowners, 116; on all things common, 117; on civic patriotism, 118; civic teaching, 119; exile and death, 128, 132
Church, xiii; true Church biography of Jesus, xv; founded, 24; Rock and Satan, 25; in Apostolic times, 41; hard shell of Canon, Creed, and apostolic continuity, 43; "Catholic," 46; Hebraized, Hellenized, Romanized, 47; a marvel, 48; in "Didache," 53; sets free slaves, 54; of Rome (*see* Roman Church); Unity in Cyprian, 77; recognized by State, 85; made greatest landowner, 85; not ready to Christianize Empire, 89; Revenues, 138, 142; as landowner, 142; Slaveowner, 143; Saved by Empire, 174; in Marsilius, 222; in Wiclf, 228; cry for reform, 232; divisive in Italy and Germany, 244; unitive in Poland and Lithuania and Spain, 244; Afraid of democracy, 248
Cistercians, 186; in agriculture, 187; abbeys, 188
City, the Ideal, 40
Clairvaux, 188
Clare, St., 200
Clementine (2nd) Epistle, 60
Clement of Alexandria, 62-66
Clement of Rome, 43, 46, 49
Clotilda, 146
Clovis, his conversion, 146
Cluny, 164, 165, 176, 186, 187
Collections for Poor, 58, 70
Columba, St., 144, 145
Columbus, 258-260; Crusading aim, 260
Commerce, 37, 187, 214

INDEX

- Commodianus, Instructions of, 79
Common," "all things, 28; expanded by Paul, 38; in "Didache," 52; in Justin, 58; in Tertullian, 70; Chrysostom's Sketch for Antioch, 117; Wiclif, 229
Community, the aim of Jesus, xi
Concubinage forbidden, 86
Constantine, 43; Sign of Cross, 49; Appearance of Jesus to, 49; Laws of, 85; "Equal to an Apostle," 91; friend of Gallianus, 104
Cornelius of Rome, 78
Cortes, 191, 233, 248
Councils, reforming, 254
Creed, 43; Rule of Faith, 46
Cross, a Death-birth, 33; seen in sky, 49
Crucifixion abolished, 87
Crusades, 180-186; first of the poor, 181; of the Knights, 181; 2nd, 181; 3rd, 182; 4th, 182, 202; results, 183; whose the initiative, 183; Mandate of Jesus, 186; International Police Force the Crusade of to-day, 186 (note); against Albigenses, 203; in Hungary, 223
Cyprian, 75-77
- DANTE, "De Monarchia," 232; "Divine Comedy," 233
Death, preparing for, in Irenaeus, 60
"De Civitate Dei," 90, 129-133; Charlemagne's Study of, 158
Decretals, False, 174
Democracy, Jesus and, 23; Marsilius, 222; menacing, 224
"Didache," 47, 52, 53
Diognetus, Epistle to, on the New Race, 54
Dionysius of Rome, 60; of Alexandria, 77; on plague, 78
"Divine Dominion," of Wiclif, 228
- Dominic, St., Dominicans and Dominicanesses, 201, 202, 203, 212, 214, 217, 221, 233
Drama, xiii; revived by a nun, 179
Dress, in Clement of Alexandria, 64; in Tertullian, 69, 71; in Cyprian, 75, 79
- ECCLESIASTICAL Courts under Constantine, 86
Edessa, fall of, 181
Education, xii, 20; no evil, 74, 113, 164; under Alfred, 168; under St. Vladimir, 171; under Renaissance, 249; "The Brethren," 252
Eleusis's widows' almshouses, 105
Elvira, Council of, on mistress killing slave, 113
Empire. *See* Roman, 43 *et seq.*; v. Papacy, 174; Saviour of the Church, 174; worsted and degraded, 248
England: Entry of English, 134, Conversion of, 147; missions from, 151; feudalism in, 162; Alfred, 167, 168; Magna Carta, 203; Parliament, 209-211; Wiclif's effect on, 230; Saved by Joan of Arc, 240; Tudor despotism, 248
Ephraem, famine-worker, 105
Epiphanius, Ticinum and taxes, 137
Eugenius II., Pope, 181, 195
Eusebius, H. E., 80
Evangelic law, Commonwealth, Men, in Wiclif, 229-230
Exiles, care for, 70
Exploration of globe, 258
- FABIOLA, hospital-foundress, romance of, 106
Fasting, in Hermas, 56
Fathers of the Church, 49-84
Ferdinand and Isabella, 244, 259

INDEX

- Feudalism, 161-163
Five Days' Working Week for Slaves, 85
Florence, 216, 232; a civic miracle under Savonarola, 255-256
France : St. Martin, father of Catholic, 123; St. Louis unifies, 218-220; saved by Joan of Arc, 236-240; royal despotism by Roman law, 248
Francis, St., 197-201, 203, 204, 206, 221
Franciscans, 199, 200, 206, 212, 220, 221, 223, 229, 246
Franks, 145, 154
Frederick Barbarossa, 182, 196
Friars, 200, 201; Sway of, 205-234; Split, 221
Friendship, won by wealth, 22; of men with women, 19, 78, 112, 152, 201, 216, 233
Fuggers, 254
Furniture, in Clement of Alexandria, 63, 64
- GALL, St., 144
Gallicanus, founder of hospitals, 104
Gambling, forbidden, 64
Germany, Apostle of, 151-153; Emperors of, 166, 174, 176-177, 182, 202, 223; unity marred by Papacy, 244
Gilds, 191; Merchant, 191; Craft, 191
Giving as Jesus bade, 21; in "Didache," 52; for remission of sins, 52; in Hermas, 55, 56; in Tertullian, 70; qualified, 72, 79
Gladiatorial shows denounced, 59, 61, 64; forbidden in East, 87; suppressed, 114
God, acquired perception of, 21
Goths, invasion by, 91; Ulfilas, 119; a new nation, 121
Government: in Aquinas, 213; Occam, 222; Marsilius, 222
- Grace, in economic sphere, 28
Gregory the Great, 138-140, 142, 143, 147, 148
Grosseteste, 208, 211
Gunpowder, 223, 224, 234
- HADRIAN, Pope, 155, 157
Harding, Stephen, Cistercian, 186
Healing, claim to ordination, 75; reported of early monks, 102
Hebraized, the Church, 47
Hegesippus, 59
Hellenized, the Church, 47
Henry III. of Germany, 174
Henry IV. of Germany, 176-177
Henry the Fowler, 166
Hermas, the Shepherd of, 55
Hilary, St., 104, 122
Hildebrand, 175-177, 180
Hippolytus, Canons of, 75
Holidays, 84, 85; Sunday a legal, 86
Hospitality, Clement of Rome, 50; "Didache," 52; Lactantius, 83; Charlemagne, 157
Hospitallers, Knights, 182
Hospitals, xi; founding of, 102; Gallicanus, 104; Basil the Great, 105; Ephraem, 105; Fabiola, 106; Pammachius, 107; Macarius (for Cripples), 108
Hungary, conversion of, 171-173; "Golden Bull," 223; Tatars' invasion: Crusade, 223; "Buckler" against Turks, 245-247.
Hunyadi Janos, 245-247
Hussites, 242, 243
Huss, John, 240-242
- ICONOCLASM, 154
Ignatius, 47, 54
Imperialism, pagan, 250
Individualism: Religious, ix; Christian, xiv; Economic, in Roman Law, 250
Initiative, Unseen, 32, 34, 49, 101, 186, 200, 215, 236, 257, 260

INDEX.

- Innocent III., 182, 200, 201, 202-
204, 205
Inquisition, the, 217, 244, 245
Iona, 144, 148
Ireland and St. Patrick, 123-125;
her missionaries over Europe,
143, 144
Irenaeus, 59, 60
Isabella and Ferdinand, 244, 259
Islam, menace of, 158, 180-186,
245-247
Italy: Barbarian ravages, 135;
unity, 225; sacrificed to Papacy,
244
- JACQUERIE in France, 226, 234
Jerome, his women friends, 112
Jerusalem captured, 181; King-
dom of, 181; fall of, 192
Jesus, Maker of history, xv; the
Inaugurator, 17; Force of
Social Cohesion, 18; not "purely
Spiritual," 19; Prophet of
exuberant plenty, 51; relation
to monasticism, 98; to Crusades,
186; to Papal autocracy, 204
Joan of Arc, 236-240
Julian the Apostate, 103, 104
Justice, the Social Principle, 82
Justinian Code, 136, 153
Justin Martyr, 57-59
- KINGDOM of God, x, 17; recedes
before Church, 41; changes in
form, 41; sinks into future, 43;
a realm of plenty, 51; "yonside,"
57, 59; when it comes, 61
King, first Christian, Alfred, 168
Kiss, the holy, in Athenagoras, 62;
in Clement of Alexandria, 63
- LABOUR, xii, 21; law of work, 37,
53, 97; elevated by monks, 113
Lactantius, 81-84; nearest to
Christian Sociology, 84
Land, xii; bequeathed to Church,
85; Church largest owner, 176
Langton, Stephen, 202, 203
- Latin Empire, 182, 202
Lay investiture, 176
Leagues of Cities in Spain, 226
Lecky on Christian Charity, 104,
108; on chastity, 109; on
Byzantine Empire, 128
Leo III. Pope, Emperor maker, 156
Lepers and St. Francis, 198; "The
Brethren," 253
Lewes, Battle of, 209
Liberty, Religious, 72; Equality
and Fraternity in Lactantius, 81
Liguria, taxes reduced, 137;
prisoners returned, 137
Lindisfarne, 148
Lioba, St., 152
Literature, Teutonic, founded by
Ulfila, 121; English, by Cæd-
mon, 150
Lithuania converted, 243, 244
Living Wage, first charge, 37
Lombards, 135, 136
Louis of Bavaria, 222, 223
Louis, St., 207, 218-220
Love Feast, in Tertullian, 70
Luxury, condemned, in Hermas
55; 64, 79
- MACARIUS' Cripple hospital, 108
Macrina, grandmother of Basil the
Great, 112
Magna Carta, 203
Maison des Filles-Dieu, 219
Mammon, 22. *See also* Wealth.
Manegold of Lauterbach, 177
Manners in Society, 57, 63
Marcion, 72
Marriage, xi, 19, 25, 35, 36, 54, 57,
58, 61; second marriage, 62;
Tertullian, 71; 76, 109, 110, 175
Marsh, Adam, 208, 211
Marsilius of Padua, 222, 223, 233
Martin, St., 102, 113, 121-123;
Father of Catholic France, 123,
127
Martyr and monk, witness of
supernatural power, 100

INDEX

- Matthias the Just, 246
Mines, care for those in, 70
Miracle, Greatest, of time, 48
Missions, Irish, 143, 144, 145
Monasticism, 67; founded by Antony, 92-95; and by Jesus, 102; Anglican tribute, 100; Protestant counterparts, 101; elevation of Labour, 113; Benedict's Rule, 140, 141; means of evangelism in France, 123; in Germany, 152; contrast to feudalism, 163; first monasteries in Sweden, Norway, Russia, 171; in Hungary, 173
Monica, injustice to her son's mistress, 110
Montfort, Simon de, Earl of Leicester, 208-211
Mothers, Christian, 111, 112; the Virgin Mother, 125
Municipal reform by St. Louis, 219; under Rienzi, 225; under Savonarola, 256
NATIONALITY, 235 *et seq.*
Nation-Building, Ulfila, 119; St. Martin, 121-123; St. Patrick, 123-125; St. Columba, 144; St. Gregory, 147, 165; Sweden, 168; Norway, 169; Russia, 171; Hungary, 172; France, Joan of Arc, 235-240; Bohemia, 240-243
Nations, League of, 186 n., 204
Nature, Study of, 20; discovered by hermits, 96
"New Jerusalem," New Paris, London, etc., 40
Nicaea, Creed of, Pagan influences, 44; triumph of Social Christianity, 45; 3rd canon, 79
Nicholas I., Pope, 174
Ninian, St., 145
Non-resistance, in Athenagoras, 61
Norway, conversion of, 169, 170
OBEDIENCE, of wife, 36; of monk, 99
Occam, William of, 221, 222, 232, 233
Odowaker, 135, 137
"Ecumenical Patriarch," 154
Olaf, King of Norway, 169
Olaf, St., 169
Olympia, friend of Chrysostom, 112
Origen, 73-75
Ornaments, 38, 64, 71, 79
Orphans, xii, 54, 58, 66, 70, 83, 108, 157
Oswald, 148
Otto, Bp. of Bamberg, 194
Otto the Great, 166

PACHOMIUS, 96
Paganism, revived 248-250
Papacy, 142, 153, 174, 202, 204; Wiclif repudiates, 229; debased, 257
Papias, 50-52
Parentage, xii, 36
Parliament, English, 209; granddaughter of St. Francis, 211, 233
Patrick, St., 123-125
Patristic Period, 43-87
Paul, 31; his work, social, 32; his teaching, social, 33; mere agent of Jesus, 34
Paulinus, 148
Paul of Samosata, 78
Pawnshops, State, under Savonarola, 256
"Peace of God," 178
Peasants, Revolt in England, 227
Pelagia, St., suicide of, 109
"Persecuting Emperors," 83; Theodosius, 127; Maximus, 127
Peter's, St., Patrimony, 142
Peter the Hermit, 181
Philip Augustus, of France, 182, 203
Pilgrimages in 15th century, 253
Plague in Alexandria, 78
Plenty, foretold by Jesus, 51
Poland and the Church, 243, 244
Polycarp, 53, 54
Pomerania, converted, 194
"Poor Preachers" of Wiclif, 230, 233

INDEX

- Popularization mark of eighth Period, 233
- Population, theory of Cyprian, 76
- Poverty and the Poor, xii, 22, 38, 50, 54, 58, 65, 70, 75, 77, 83, 85, 87, 99, 181; demand for evangelic poverty, 194, 197, 221, 228
- Priest, idea imported from Jewry, 46; celibacy, 175; repudiated by "The Brethren," 252
- Printing, 257
- Priscillian martyred by Christians, 127
- Prisoners, xii, 70
- Property, 21, Aquinas, 213
- Prophets and Apostles in "Didache," 52
- Prostitution, xi, 58, 219
- Public life deserted by Christians, 67, 74
- Puns and Conversion of England, 147
- "Purely Spiritual," xi; Jesus not, 19; lure to Apostles, 30; Irenaeus against, 59; Tertullian against, 72
- REMIGIUS, 146
- Renaissance, 249, 250
- Revelation, Three Stages of, 42
- Rienzi, 224-226, 234
- Right Line of Social Evolution, 42
- Risings of Peasants, 251
- Robert, St., of Cîteaux, 186
- Roman Church, helping many churches, 60; Cornelius on officers and beneficiaries, 78; Patrimony, 142; increase of power, 153
- Roman Empire, New, 156; Charlemagne, 156; Otto the Great, 167
- Roman Empire, penetration and capture, 43 *et seq.*
- Romanized, the Church, 47
- Roman Law, with Pagan Poison, 250
- Roman Republic under Arnold, 195; Rienzi, 224
- Rome, starved, 135, 138; alms in, 139; under Arnold, 195; papal interdict on, 196; under Rienzi, 224-226
- Romulus Augustulus, 92, 153
- Roswitha, 179
- Russia, conversion of, 170; Tsardom, 247; Bulwark against Tatars, 248
- SACRAMENT, the Social, 25
- Savonarola, 255-257
- Science, xiii, 40
- Scripture, Canon of, 43, 44; as used by Unseen Operator, 102; in Wiclif, 229; his translation, 230
- Secularization of the Church, 47
- Service, law of, 21
- Severinus, St., 138
- Shipwrecked, the, 70
- Sick, the, xi, 22, 54, 58, 78, 83.
See also Hospitals.
- Sigismund of Hungary, 245
- Simony, 175
- Simple Life, the, 38, 63, 99
- Slavery and Slaves, 36, 50, 54, 59;
Five Days' Working Week, 85; 113, 143, 169
- Social Christianity, phrase and fact, ix; central sacrament, 26; triumphant in Nicene Creed, 45; greatest achievement in first three centuries, 49; monastery, chief home of, 164
- Social Contract in Manegold, 177
- Social Organism, The, 27-33; personal Unity, 34
- Social teaching of Thomas Aquinas, 213-214; of Wiclif, 228-230
- Spain, 158, 166; unified, 244; under absolute rule, 248
- Spiritual, purely, xi; Jesus not, 19; its lure, 30, 59, 72
- Sport, appreciated, 39
- Stages of Revelation, Three, 42
- State, the, xii; Jesus and, 23; Apostles and, 38, 39; Tertullian, 67, 72

INDEX

- Stephen, St., Hungary, 172
Stephen, the Social Christian, 30
Strangers, 59 ; Homes for, 103,
107, 157
Suicide preferred to violation, 80,
81, 109
Sweden, conversion of, 168, 170 ;
Riksdag, 233
Switzerland, freed, 226, 233
- "TABLES," Serving, 30
Tatian, 59
Taxation, 83, 85, 137, 256
Telemachus, St., and gladiatorial
shows, 114
Temperance: Total Abstinence, 63
Templars, pioneer bankers; 182,
254
Tertullian, 66-73
Teutonic Knights, 182
Teutonic Literature founded, 121
Theatre, reprobated, 59, 61, 64, 69,
77, 83
Theodora, 153
Theodore of Tarsus, 149
Theodoric, 135, 137
Theodosius, 126, 127
Theophilus to Autolycus, 61
Thessalonians massacred, 7000,
126
"The Third Race," 69
Thomas Aquinas, St., 212-214, 220
Three Stages of Revelation, 42
Together : A Meal together, 25 ;
"always keep together," 58
Toleration, by law, 85, 127 ;
abolished, 127
Torments, gilded, of the Rich,
Cyprian, 76
Torture for heresy, 232
Tours, St. Martin of, 122 ; Battle
of, 154, 184
Towns : one wholly Christian, 80,
166, 189, 190, 191, 226, 231
Transubstantiation denied, 229
"Truce of God," 178
- Turks, 180, 184, 245-247
Tyler, Wat, 227
- ULFILAS, 119, 120, 121
Unemployed, xii, 21, 53, 55, 105,
256
Universities, rise of, 192 ; Friars in,
206
Urban II., 181
Urban V., 216
Usury, 24 per cent., 79, 115, 116 ;
Aquinus, 214
Utility, the heathen guide, 83
- VERDUN, Treaty of, 166
Virgin Mary, worship of, 125
Vladimir, St., 170, 171
- WALTER THE PENNILESS, 181
War, xiii, 23, 24, 39, 69, 75, 76, 143,
178, 213
Wealth, xii ; Mammon, 22, 38, 50,
55, 56, 58, 63, 65, 75, 79, 84, 115
Wends, 193, 194
West, Empire of ended, 92
Whitby, Synod of, 149
Wiclf, John, 205, 223, 227-230, 232
Widows, xii, 29, 54, 58, 66, 83, 105,
157
William Duke of Aquitaine, 164
William the Conqueror, 162
Willibrord, 151
Wine, to be shunned, 63
Women's movement, xi, 19, 35, 57,
69, 78, 79, 86, 111, 112, 113 ; St.
Clare, 200 ; St. Catherine, 215 ;
Blanche of Castile, 218
Work or no food, 37 ; law of, 53 ;
required from Monks, 97
World-Unity, xiii ; world-aim of
Jesus, x, 23, 68 ; three rival
heads, 156 ; in Middle Ages, 173,
174, 192, 202
- XENODOCHIA, 103 ; Julian's, 103 ;
Pammachius, 107
- ZACHARIAS, Pope, Kingmaker, 155





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